

**LOW INCOME FEMALE MIGRANTS
IN
CHIANG MAI AND KAMPAENG PETCH**

PRACHID NA BANGCHANG
Department of Political Science
Faculty of Social Science
Chiang Mai University
Chiang Mai, Thailand

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Prachid Na Bangchang
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem

The effects of internal migration can either be favorable or unfavorable to the process of a country's modernization depending on whether it is a balanced or imbalanced internal migration (Prachaubmoh and Tirasawat, 1974:3). In Thailand, internal migration has been found to be imbalanced and is the main cause of rapid urban growth that generates a horde of other associated socio-economic and ecological problems. Among these are various types of social disorganization, the high cost of living, unemployment, housing shortage, traffic congestion, environmental pollution and many others. The aforementioned problems are further aggravated by the new in-flow of migrants which makes a city's facilities and services inadequate to meet the ever-growing needs and expectations of its urban residents.

Such derivative problems of internal migration are apparent in Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis, the capital city of Thailand. According to the latest survey in 1978, the metropolis had a population of 4.5 million; 35 percent were migrants from other provinces (Bangkok Bank. July, 1980 : 255-257). Lives of these migrants are found to be miserable if they fail to adjust to the unfavorable surrounding environment. In an effort to divert and decrease the in-flow of new migrants to the metropolis during the 70's, the Thai government invested heavily to improve the internal communication and transportation systems. The policy has proven to be partly successful; a study in 1974 found that the percentage of those who migrated to other provincial urban centers had surpassed the percentage of those who migrated to the Metropolis (Goldstein and Pitaktepsombati, 1974).

Of all the major provincial centers in Thailand, Chiang Mai, the second largest city and the most urbanized city in the North, is becoming the most likely next victim of rapid urban and population growth. The stereotypes of socio-economic and environmental problems which prevail in Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis may occur in Chiang Mai unless systematic planning for city and population growth is developed.

Among the various groups of migrants in any big city, low income female migrants may be the most vulnerable of all. Low income female migrants have at least three dimensions of responsibilities: as wage earners, as wives, and, for some of them, as mothers. These numerous dimensions of responsibilities presumably make it more difficult for a low income female migrant to adjust herself to the unaccustomed and unfavorable urban environment. In effect, low income female migrants must adjust almost everything to suit their new urban socio-economic environments, and their adjusted social, economic, and demographic patterns may differ from city to city. Considering that female migrants account for roughly half of the total number of migrants, low income female migrants certainly deserve special attention.

Therefore there is a growing need, on the part of Chiang Mai city, to gather baseline data pertaining to the social, economic, and demographic patterns of Chiang Mai's low income female migrants in order to enlarge the body of knowledge for future effective planning. In addition, it is interesting to test the hypothesis which states that conditions of low income female migrants' self adjustment should differ from city to city according to the differences in size and other factors of socio-economic environment and should result in differences of socio-economic and demographic patterns. For this purpose, Kampaeng Petch, a much smaller northern city with different but comparable socio-economic characteristics was chosen for comparison with Chiang Mai.

The present scenario of migration to the cities of Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch

The importance of Chiang Mai city is incalculable. Chiang Mai is the most modernized and urbanized city in the North. Even though the size of Chiang Mai's urban population is less than one fortieth of that of Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis, the rate of Chiang Mai's city population growth has been very impressive. According to the population census, the registered population in the Chiang Mai municipal area numbered only 38,211 in 1947 and increased steadily to 66,823 in 1960, 89,272 in 1970, and 93,363 in 1972. Due to chronic under registration, these figures are lower than true population numbers. According to the latest estimate, the present size of Chiang Mai's urban population is approximately 150,000 with about 50,000 people living in the immediate suburbs. The large urban population size, coupled with a population density of not less than 3,000 inhabitants per square kilometer, has given the city the status of "nakorn" municipality, of which at present there are only three in Thailand. In addition, the city is the seat of the Chiang Mai provincial administration and contains the offices of many central government agencies. In this sense, Chiang Mai city can be deemed as the northern administrative center. Endowed with mountainous natural beauty and a mild climate, Chiang Mai city has been the most renowned northern resort city and is the center of tourism in the North. The flourishing tourist industry brings a steady flow of more than one million tourists to Chiang Mai city each year. Due to the implementation of several tourist promotion policies, extensive transportation networks have been built, such as a bus terminal and an international airport in addition to the existing train terminal. This led in turn to the booming of service industry investments such as high-rise first class hotels, restaurants, bars, night clubs, coffee shops, bowling alleys, and many other related businesses.

In due respect, Chiang Mai city has become the northern center of trade, investment, and banking as well. Apart from the aforementioned importance, Chiang Mai city is also the northern educational center. The city has many government and private higher educational institutions, most notable Chiang Mai University which was established in 1965.

The prominence of Chiang Mai in so many spheres has served to attract a large stream of migrants to reside in the city. Even though the total number is not known, it is still safe to assume that approximately half of these migrants are female. The generality of the ordeal of female migrants in Chiang Mai city has been revealed in many studies of Chiang Mai's infamous prostitution, which can be summarized as follows:

Each year, a large but unknown number of women migrate from their places of origin to the city of Chiang Mai in hopes of finding better paid jobs and enjoying exciting city life as conveyed to them via mass communication media. But after they have become Chiang Mai city dwellers, things are different from what had been expected. Employment is hard to find and for those who are lucky enough to have jobs, the earning is barely enough to make ends meet. Of the unemployed or underemployed, a large percentage turn to indecent occupations, becoming prostitutes, masseuses, or bar and night club hostesses. Often it turns out that decent jobs are low paid whereas indecent jobs are well paid. Most of the indecent jobs yield an average monthly income of not less than 3,000 Baht, which is above the poverty line in Thailand. It is also known that these indecent job holders tend to be stepping-stone migrants who stay for a time in Chiang Mai and later migrate to other big cities, usually to Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis first and then to Southern resort cities where indecent jobs of this kind flourish. By contrast, little is known about female migrants who succeed in finding and holding low paid jobs in Chiang Mai city. Theoretically, it is known that the latter group of female migrants have to adjust their socio-economic patterns to suit the urban environment of a big city like Chiang Mai.

It is hypothesized that the socio-economic profiles of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai should differ from the profiles of their counterparts who reside in a much smaller city such as Kampaeng Petch. In terms of urban environments the differences between the cities of Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch are numerous. Situated about half way between Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis and Chiang Mai, Kampaeng Petch city has a registered population of only 19,618 and has only obtained the status of "Muang" municipality. Except for the ruins of the ancient Kampaeng Petch city which date back to the Sukothai period, Kampaeng Petch city has no tourist attractions. Most of the tourists are more interested in the ruins of Sukothai and choose to stay overnight in Phitsanulok instead of making a stop-over in Kampaeng Petch. Only recently has there been an effort in the private sector to promote the tourist industry within the city and, as a result, three first class hotels were set up and began operating in late 1979, though without much success. Nevertheless, there has been a noticeable up-surge in related service industries though at a slower rate than in Chiang Mai. Unlike Chiang Mai, there are no handicraft or industrial factories within the municipal area. The main export of Kampaeng Petch province used to be timber, but as timber becomes more scarce, sugar cane has become the new major export. All of the sugar cane factories are situated outside the municipal area along with the remaining saw mills. In short, Kampaeng Petch is a small and slow growing northern city, appropriate for comparison with Chiang Mai.

Scope of the study

The purpose of the study is to collect baseline data relative to a broad range of social, economic, demographic and attitudinal factors pertaining to low income female migrants who are economically active and reside within the urban areas

of Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch. In addition, the study explores social and economic forces within each of the two urban contexts which might have a bearing on life styles and other elements characterizing low income female migrants in the two cities.

The collected baseline data are tabulated into two profiles and a comparison is made to test the hypothesis which states that the social and economic forces at work within two different urban contexts would result in different patterns of life and other characteristics of low income female migrants.

Relevance to previous studies

The study of internal migration in Thailand began to catch the attention of policy makers and Thai scholars in the mid and late 1950's. Numerous surveys and research projects were conducted by various government offices and academic institutions.*

Of all the previous studies, two studies are closely related to this research. The first one is "The Rural and Urban Populations of Thailand: Comparative Profiles" (Prachuabmoh et al, 1972). In the aforementioned study, the baseline data on the social, economic, and demographic characteristics of all rural and urban populations in Thailand were gathered, tabulated, and compared. Data collected from the rural and urban populations in Chiang Mai were included in the study but they were mixed with data collected from all rural and urban areas in Thailand. Moreover, the data were collected from both sexes whereas this research gives special emphasis to females only.

* For more details, see Visis Prachuabmoh and Penporn Tirasawat "Internal Migration In Thailand", pp. 19-26.

Another closely related study is "Migration and Urban Growth in Thailand: An exploration of Interrelations among origin, Recency and Frequency of Moves" (Goldstein and Pitaktepsombati, 1974). The purpose of the study was to explore the extent of internal migration to Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis and to other provincial urban centers in Thailand as well as to study the characteristics of movements as indicated by place of origin, recency of move, and frequency of move. The extent of age differentials between migrants and non-migrants as well as among migrants themselves was also examined.

Again, in the above study, data were collected from selected rural and urban areas all over Thailand. Data from Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch were ~~also~~ collected but were mixed with the data collected from other rural and urban areas in the country.

Therefore there is a lack of specific data on the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of migrants which are crucial to policy formulation in coping with the growing problems of migration to northern provincial urban centers. This research collects the missing data to fill the prevailing gap. The research theme of this study is built upon the two previous studies both in terms of techniques and of questionnaires, with the only difference being that of placing special emphasis on low income female migrants in the two cities of Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch.

Research Methodology

This research was conducted in the municipalities of two northern cities of different size and economic affluence: Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch. Two name lists of eligible low income female migrants were prepared in the preliminary survey by using the following methods:

1. Interviews were conducted with employers of industrial, semi-industrial, and service establishments in the two cities in order to obtain information about names, place of origin, and the amount of wages of their female employees.

2. Questionnaires were mailed to all government offices located in the two cities, requesting the superior officer of each office to give information about names, place of origin, and the level of salaries of all female subordinates.

By using systematic random sampling, 400 names were drawn from a name list of eligible female migrants of Chiang Mai and 200 names were drawn in the same manner from a name list for Kampaeng Petch. All of the individuals in these selected samples were personally interviewed, and the collected baseline data were tabulated into two profiles for comparison.

Operational definitions

The samples of this study were selected according to the following operational definitions:

1. Low income refers to the economic status of being poor, defined in terms of receiving a wage or a salary which falls below an established line. This means that the present study defines a person as poor using the amount of wage or salary as the only criterion. In 1975, the government of Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj announced a program to aid the poor by establishing the poverty line at 1,000 Baht a month. Individuals earning less than this amount were entitled to receive free public transportation and medical care. The program was not fully implemented because the Kukrit government lost in the following general election. The present government of General Prem revived the previous initiative by proposing a law to give free medical service to any citizen whose income is less than 1,500 Baht a month.

Thus within a period of only five years, the poverty line has increased by 50 percent. However, in order to draw a poverty line that truly corresponds to the prevailing economic reality, the present study considers that a person is poor if she or he receives a monthly wage or a salary of less than 1,800 Baht, or if the amount of combined monthly wages for salaries of husband and wife do not exceed 3,500 Baht.

2. Female migrants refer to those women who:

- a. have made one or more moves crossing a provincial boundary, or
- b. have made one or more moves involving a change from rural to urban residence without crossing a provincial boundary (Prachaubmoh and Tirasawat, 1974:9).

3. Economically active refers to the state of working for a wage or salary. Those low income female migrants who are self employed or run their own small businesses are not included in this study. The underlying reason is because low income female migrants in these categories tend to change their residence and occupation so often that their patterns of self adjustment to urban environments cannot be adequately explored.

4. Urban residence refers to the state of having a residence located within the Chiang Mai or Kampaeng Petch municipal areas. Data in Chiang Mai was collected in the pending expansion of the present municipal area of 16.9 square kilometers to 35 square kilometers in order to include the adjacent urbanized suburbs.

Those low income female migrants who work and reside outside the expanded Chiang Mai municipal area or the Kampaeng Petch municipal area were not included in the study.

5. Married status refers to the state of a low income female **migrant living with a spouse regardless of whether** or not a marriage registration or ceremony has been performed.

Thus, cases of common law wives are also included in the study.

CHAPTER II

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS AND COMPOSITION OF LOW INCOME
FEMALE MIGRANTS GROUPS IN CHIANG MAI AND KAMPAENG PETCH

To explore the major characteristics and composition of the narrowly defined groups of low income female migrants of this study, information was collected on place of birth, ethnicity, frequency of migratory moves, real and expected duration of stay, age and marital status, family composition and size of household. Taken together, the data reveal interesting patterns of migration and other related aspects of the low income female migrants in the two cities.

Place of Birth

The information on place of birth or place of origin shown in Table 1 reveals that migratory movement of low income female migrants of both cities is largely confined within the same geographic or the same administrative region, and very often within the same province. Presently, Thailand consists of 72 provinces which are grouped into 9 administrative regions. Geographically, the country is divided into four regions: North, Northeast, South, and Central. The data indicate that the majority of the respondents in the two cities were born within the Northern geographic region. The second largest groups, 16.3 percent in Kampaeng Petch and a mere 4.3 percent in Chiang Mai, were born in the Central region. Those who were born in the Northeast and Southern regions rank third and fourth respectively. Chiang Mai has as many as 67.78 percent who were born within Chiang Mai province, whereas the percentage in Kampaeng Petch is at 31.78 percent. When the place of birth is taken into account along with the status of the place of birth, the data reveal that most of the respondents in both cities migrated from two categories of areas: rural areas of other provinces and rural areas within their own respective provinces.

Table 1. Regional distributions by status of place of birth

<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>						
PLACE OF BIRTH						
COUNT	urban of	rural of	rural of	China/	Abroad	Total
ROW PCT	other	other	this pro-	Taiwan		
COL PCT	provinces	provinces	vince	/H.K.		
CENTRAL	12	17	0	0	0	29
	41.37	58.62	00.00	00.00	00.00	016.3
	24.48	19.54	00.00	00.00	00.00	
NORTH-EAST	5	13	0	0	0	18
	27.77	72.22	00.00	00.00	00.00	010.1
	10.20	14.94	00.00	00.00	00.00	
NORTHERN	31	57	41	0	0	129
	24.03	44.18	31.78	00.00	00.00	072.8
	63.26	65.51	100.0	00.00	00.00	
SOUTHERN	1	0	0	0	0	1
	100.0	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.5
	02.04	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
TOTAL	49	87	41	0	0	177
	27.68	49.15	23.26	00.00	00.00	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 639.9066124937 WITH 12 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 177

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 23 OR 4.448742746615 %

Regional distributions by status of place of birth

PLACE OF BIRTH

COUNT	urban of	rural of	rural of	China/	Abroad	Total
ROW PCT	other	other	this	Taiwan		
COL PCT	provinces	provinces	province	/H.K.		
CENTRAL	8	9	0	0	0	17
	47.05	52.94	00.00	00.00	00.00	004.3
	19.04	08.18	00.00	00.00	00.00	
NORTH-EAST	3	13	0	0	0	16
	18.75	81.25	00.00	00.00	00.00	004.0
	07.14	11.81	00.00	00.00	00.00	
NORTHERN	31	84	242	0	0	357
	08.68	23.52	67.78	00.00	00.00	090.6
	73.80	76.36	100.0	00.00	00.00	
SOUTHERN	0	4	0	0	0	4
	00.00	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.0
	00.00	03.63	00.00	00.00	00.00	
TOTAL	42	110	242	0	0	394
	10.65	27.91	61.42	00.00	00.00	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 718.8536452456 WITH 12 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 394

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 6 OR 1.160541586074 %

Those who migrated from urban places constitute only 27.68 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 10.65 percent in Chiang Mai. These findings indicate that the migratory pattern of low income female migrants in both cities is one of short distance moves, primarily from rural to urban areas. Long distance migratory moves which involved the crossing of geographic, administrative, and/or provincial boundary lines mostly occurred among those who migrated from urban places of origin. These findings are not so surprising since Thailand is an agrarian and not a very urbanized country. According to the latest survey in 1980, only 16.3 percent of the total Thai population lived in urban areas (National Economic and Social Development Board, et al. 1974: 30). However, the trend towards more urbanization is evidenced by the fact that the proportion of the population living in municipal areas has been increasing steadily in the last few decades and is projected by the United Nations to reach almost one-fifth of the total population by 1985 (Prachuabmoh et al, 1972: 5).

Ethnicity

Since none of the respondents reported that they were born outside the country, the population of low income female migrants in both cities is found to be predominantly ethnic Thai. With respect to foreign descendency, data in Table 2 show that only 1 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 0.75 percent in Chiang Mai have a parent born outside Thailand. In addition, when asked the question of the language spoken at home, which is held to be a reliable indicator of a person's ethnic identification and frame of reference, only 1.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 0.25 percent in Chiang Mai identified themselves to be of Chinese descent even though the data do not reveal in what generation they are. The proportion of Chinese descendents among the low income female migrants of both cities should be higher than it appears, because the Chinese constitute the largest and most economically important

Table 2. Parents' Place of Birth

FATHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
THAILAND	198	99.00	397	99.25
ABROAD	2	1.00	3	0.75
	0	MISSING	0	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.00	400	100.00

MOTHER'S PLACE OF BIRTH

THAILAND	198	99.00	398	99.50
ABROAD	2	1.00	2	0.50
	0	MISSING	0	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.00	400	100.0

LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

THAI	195	97.50	398	99.50
CHINESE	1	0.50	1	0.25
THAI & CHINESE	2	1.00	0	0.00
OTHER	0	MISSING	0	MISSING
TOTAL	200	100.00	400	100.00

Table 3. Reasons for the last migratory move

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
Land Reason	3	1.50	3	0.75
Economic Reason	27	13.56	169	42.56
Marriage Reason	24	12.06	21	5.28
Following Relative	25	12.56	26	6.54
Job-Related Reason	102	51.25	136	34.25
Education	5	2.51	17	4.28
Don't Know, No Answer	13	6.53	25	6.29
	1	MISSING	3	MISSING
TOTAL	199	100.0	397	100.00

ethnic minority in Thailand. The trivial proportions of Chinese descendents in the two cities reflects the dislike among the Chinese toward working for wages or salaries. Most of the Chinese descendents tend to be self-employed or to run their own small businesses, and for this reason were dropped from the samples used in the study.

Reasons for Migration

Several previous research findings agreed that the most important migratory motive in Thailand was economic, though this tended to be a combination of various other factors. The economic motive operates both ways, as a push and a pull factor, that culminates in actual migration. Among the push factors were: need for land, shortage of water, sterile soil, land tenure problems, and absence of industries in rural areas. Those classified as pull factors were: seasonal need for farm labourers, wage differentials, inducement from friends and relatives, and desire for higher education (Meinkoth, 1962 : 6-9, 31-33).

Reasons for migration of low income female migrants in both cities are shown in Table 3. The data partly supports earlier findings. It was found that for a small city like Kampaeng Petch the main reason that materialized in migratory moves was not always economic. A majority of 51.25 percent of respondents in Kampaeng Petch stated that the main reason for their last migratory move was a job-related reason. Those who stated economic reasons comprise only 13.56 percent, thus, forming the second largest group. In Chiang Mai, a majority of 42.56 percent stated economic reasons, and those who stated job-related reasons rank as the second largest group. These results arise from the pattern of occupational distribution of the two cities. In Kampaeng Petch, there is a large concentration of those who hold the occupation of government officials or government employees, and the creation of new jobs due to recent investment in service

industries have induced many women to migrate because of job transfers to the city of Kampaeng Petch. Quite clearly, such job transfers are predominantly intra-urban in character. In contrast to Kampaeng Petch, Chiang Mai has a more even occupational distribution, and Chiang Mai's investment in service industries reached the point of saturation more than a decade ago; thus, migration due to job transfers did not occur in as large a proportion as in Kampaeng Petch. More interesting is following relatives, which appears to be the third largest stated reason for migration in both Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch. Motivation to migrate tends to be greatly activated through persuasion of relatives or friends who have already been city dwellers. The so-called "demonstration effect" is a potent and decisive factor in making migratory moves with the expectation of having a better and more exciting urban life as demonstrated by relatives or friends. Since the first priority motive for migration is to look for a job or to take work that has been arranged in advance, the percentage of those who reported education as a reason for migration is low in both cities.

Frequency of Migration

Data shown in Table 4 indicate that most of the low income female migrants in both cities are found to have a migration history of multiple moves. The majority have had two to three moves during their lifetimes. The proportion of those who have a history of only one move during their lifetime appears to be low and accounts for only 15.81 percent in Kampaeng Petch and a mere 4.25 percent in Chiang Mai. The proportion of those who have made more than three moves decreases successively in both cities. However, it is noteworthy that the percentage of those who have had 5 or more migratory moves during their lifetime is greater in Kampaeng Petch than in Chiang Mai, probably due to the high proportion of recent job transfers.

Whether the status of the interval destinations is rural or urban cannot be assessed since the data gave no information on the intermediary moves between the first and the last migratory moves.

Table 4. Number of moves since birth

VALUE LABEL	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
Once only	31	15.81	17	4.25
2 moves	105	53.57	309	77.25
3 moves	36	18.36	46	11.50
4 moves	8	4.08	14	3.50
5 and over	16	8.16	14	3.50
	4	MISSING	0	MISSING
	<hr/>		<hr/>	
TOTAL	196	100.00	400	100.00
	<hr/>		<hr/>	

Recency of Migration and Expected Duration of Stay

Data shown in Table 5 indicate that the majority of low income female migrants in both cities can be categorized as recent migrants. The combined percentages of those who had migrated and lived in the respective cities for less than one year accounts for 45.1 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 40.4 percent in Chiang Mai. The percentages of those who had migrated to their respective city more than one year ago are evenly distributed in both cities, though Kampaeng Petch has a larger proportion of those who had migrated 5 or more years ago than Chiang Mai. This indicates that there are more long time low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch than in Chiang Mai.

Table 5. Real Duration of Stay by Expected Duration of Stay

		<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>						
Expected Duration of Stay	COUNT	1 YEAR	1-3 YEAR	4-6 YEAR	7-9 YEAR	10 AND OVER	UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT							
Real Duration of Stay								
less than 6 months		3 06.97 50.00	9 20.93 37.50	2 04.65 33.33	0 00.00 00.00	5 11.62 12.50	24 55.81 21.81	43 022.8
HALF TO ONE YEAR		2 04.76 33.33	7 16.66 29.16	2 04.76 33.33	1 02.38 50.00	6 14.28 15.00	24 57.14 21.81	42 022.3
1-2 YEARS		0 00.00 00.00	4 11.42 16.66	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	5 14.28 12.50	26 74.28 23.63	35 018.6
3-4 YEARS		0 00.00 00.00	1 03.70 04.16	2 07.40 33.33	0 00.00 00.00	7 25.92 17.50	17 62.96 15.45	27 014.3
5 AND OVER		1 02.43 16.66	3 07.31 12.50	0 00.00 00.00	1 02.43 50.00	17 41.46 42.50	19 46.34 17.27	41 021.8
TOTAL		6 03.19	24 12.76	6 03.19	2 01.06	40 21.27	110 58.51	188 100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 31.32520433686 WITH 20 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 188
MISS OBSERVATIONS = 12 OR 2.321083172147 %

Chiang Mai

Expected Duration of Stay	COUNT		1 YEAR	1-3 YEAR	4-6 YEAR	7-9 YEAR	10 AND OVER	UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
	ROW PCT	COL PCT							
Duration of Stay less than 6 months	18		12	1	0	3	60	94	
	19.14		12.76	01.06	00.00	03.19	63.82	023.7	
	72.00		15.78	04.16	00.00	08.82	25.64		
HALF TO ONE YEAR	4		21	7	0	2	32	66	
	06.06		31.81	10.60	00.00	03.03	48.48	016.7	
	16.00		27.63	29.16	00.00	05.88	13.67		
1-2 YEARS	2		32	8	0	4	65	111	
	01.80		28.82	07.20	00.00	03.60	58.55	028.1	
	08.00		42.10	33.33	00.00	11.76	27.77		
3-4 YEARS	1		9	6	0	5	41	62	
	01.61		14.51	09.67	00.00	08.06	66.12	015.6	
	04.00		11.84	25.00	00.00	14.70	17.52		
5 AND OVER	0		2	2	2	20	36	62	
	00.00		03.22	03.22	03.22	32.25	58.06	015.6	
	00.00		02.63	08.33	100.00	58.82	15.38		
TOTAL	25		76	24	2	34	234	395	
	06.32		19.24	06.07	00.50	08.60	59.24	100.0	

CHI-SQUARE = 157.7162478452 WITH 20 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 395

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5 OR .9671179883946 %

Data on expected duration of stay among the low income female migrants in both cities reveal that the majority were uncertain about how long they would stay in the respective cities at the time of the survey. Most of the recent migrants in both cities expressed the desire to stay between 1 and 3 years. Noteworthy is the fact that Kampaeng Petch has a higher percentage of those who express the desire to stay 10 years and over than Chiang Mai. This reflects more satisfaction in staying in the smaller city, Kampaeng Petch.

Age and Marital Status

Data on age differentials among economically active low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch, shown in Table 6, reveal that the majority are in the 20-24 year age group, which is relatively young considering that they have already migrated, entered the labor force, and become provincial city dwellers. It is interesting to note that the second largest age group in Kampaeng Petch is the 25-29 year category, whereas in Chiang Mai it is the 15-19 year category. This signifies that Chiang Mai has a larger lower age group than Kampaeng Petch which further indicates that a big city like Chiang Mai has less age selectivity for low income female migrants compared to a small city like Kampaeng Petch. The finding reflects that a big city like Chiang Mai has greater economic opportunities and job openings to absorb more newly arrived female migrants than a small city like Kampaeng Petch. Data in Table 5 suggest that low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch are more mature than their counterparts in Chiang Mai in at least two aspects. Firstly, low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch have a higher median age of 24.21 years, whereas the median age in Chiang Mai is 22.58 years. Secondly, the percentage of those who have married is 33.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch, almost twice as large as the 17.25 percent in Chiang Mai. The proportion of married low income female

Table 6. Age at Last Birthday by Marital Status

<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>						
WOMEN'S AGE	MARITAL STATUS					
	COUNT	SINGLE	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE SEP.	DIVORCED	WIDOWED
	ROW PCT COL PCT					
15	1 50.00 00.91	1 50.00 01.49	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	2 001.0
15-19	24 80.00 22.01	2 06.66 02.98	2 06.66 25.00	2 06.66 25.00	0 00.00 00.00	30 015.0
20-24	70 70.00 64.22	24 24.00 35.82	3 03.00 37.50	2 02.00 25.00	1 01.00 12.50	100 050.0
25-29	12 35.29 11.00	17 50.00 25.37	2 05.88 25.00	1 02.94 12.50	2 05.88 25.00	34 017.0
30-34	2 09.52 01.83	13 61.90 19.40	1 04.76 12.50	2 09.52 25.00	3 14.28 37.50	21 010.5
35-39	0 00.00 00.00	8 88.88 11.94	0 00.00 00.00	1 11.11 12.50	0 00.00 00.00	9 004.5
40-44	0 00.00 00.00	1 50.00 01.49	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	1 50.00 12.50	2 001.0
45 and over	0 00.00 00.00	1 50.00 01.49	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	1 50.00 12.50	2 001.0
TOTAL	109 54.50	67 33.50	8 04.00	8 04.00	8 12.50	200 100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 88.09721034782 WITH 28 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 200

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

Median Age = 24.215

Table 6 (Cont'd)

Chiang Mai

		MARITAL STATUS					
COUNT		SINGLE	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE SEP.	DIVORCED	WIDOWED	TOTAL
ROW PCT	COL PCT						
WOMEN'S AGE							
15		3 100.0 01.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	3 000.7
15-19		114 96.61 38.25	3 02.54 04.34	1 00.84 07.14	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	118 029.5
20-24		152 82.60 51.00	24 13.04 34.78	2 01.08 14.28	6 03.26 40.00	0 00.00 00.00	184 046.0
25-29		25 40.98 08.38	26 42.62 37.68	6 09.83 42.85	2 03.27 13.33	2 03.27 50.00	61 015.2
30-34		1 10.00 00.33	5 50.00 07.24	2 20.00 14.28	2 20.00 13.33	0 00.00 00.00	10 002.5
35-39		2 15.38 00.67	8 61.53 11.59	1 07.69 07.14	1 07.69 06.66	1 07.69 25.00	13 003.2
40-44		0 00.00 00.00	2 28.57 02.89	1 14.28 07.14	3 42.85 20.00	1 14.28 25.00	7 001.7
45 and over		1 25.00 00.33	1 25.00 01.44	1 25.00 07.14	1 25.00 06.66	0 00.00 00.00	4 001.0
TOTAL		298 74.50	69 17.25	14 03.50	15 03.75	4 01.00	400 100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 285.5114950808 WITH 28 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
 TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 400
 MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

Median Age = 22.587

migrants appears to be smaller than anticipated since generally females in Northern Thailand reach their puberty and enter into married life sooner than females in other regions. Married females at the age of 15 or 16 are not uncommon in the Northern provinces. The reason for the fact that the majority of low income female migrants in both cities remain single even though they have reached the reproductive age is that their migration obstructs their marriage chances, and after they have joined the labor force, socio-economic considerations of the urban economy tend to prevent their marriages until later ages. Therefore it can be concluded that low income female migrants in both cities migrate to their places of destination in their late teens and early twenties while they are single, and marriage will usually occur after they have become city dwellers. Additionally, both cities show relatively small percentages of those who are separated, or divorced.

Size of Household and Family Composition

Household size in Thailand tends to be large, averaging about 6 persons per household; the mean size of household in provincial urban places was found to be 5.67 persons per household (Prachaubmoh et al, 1972 : 15). According to data shown in Table 7, the average household size of low income female migrants is 4.5 persons in Kampaeng Petch and 5.36 persons in Chiang Mai which indicates that household size in Chiang Mai is slightly larger than that of Kampaeng Petch.

As for family composition, a question was asked about the relationship of low income female migrants to other persons in their own households. The study found that a majority of 47.5 percent in Kampaeng Petch but only 27.36 percent in Chiang Mai live with their relatives. This corresponds to the previously stated reasons for migration, of which the factor of following relatives was found to be the third most important motive in

Table 7. Size of Household and Family Composition

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Size of Household</u>				
single person household	12	6.00	9	2.25
2-3	78	39.00	87	21.75
4-5	50	25.00	166	41.50
6-7	35	17.50	52	13.00
8-9	11	5.50	34	8.50
10 or more	14	7.00	52	13.00
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
Mean =	4.5		5.36	
<u>Family Composition</u>				
living with husband's parents	6	3.10	10	2.55
living with own parents	20	10.36	28	7.16
living with relatives	91	47.15	107	27.36
living alone	9	4.66	4	1.02
living with friends	34	17.62	76	19.43
living with colleagues	27	13.99	87	22.25
living with employer	6	3.11	78	19.94
other	0	0	1	0.25
don't know, no answer	7		9	
Total	193	100.00	391	100.00

both cities. Also, ties among kin are likely to be stronger if they are able to help one another occupationally. Even though the majority in both cities are found to be single, the combined percentages of those who live with friends, colleagues, or employers in Chiang Mai are higher than in a small city such as Kampaeng Petch. This suggests that for the majority of respondents, relationships to other members in the household in a big city tend to be secondary or tertiary non-kin relationships and that families in the true sense have not yet originated. It is noteworthy that families of the single person type, which are said to be more common urban than in rural areas, (Prachaubmoh et al, 1972 : 16), are found to comprise only 4.66 percent in Kampaeng Petch and a mere 1.02 percent in Chiang Mai.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

To assess the economic well-being of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch, indicators such as the amount of individual wages and combined wages with husband's, household possessions and house ownership were explored. Other economic characteristics such as occupational distribution, age at first employment, educational requirement of present job, and commuting patterns were also discussed.

Occupational Distribution

The structure and processes of an economy shape many aspects of human life, most notably the occupational distribution of a society. The economy of Thailand is classified as the "service-led growth" type in which the tourist industry has been the major incentive of investment in various types of service industries (Nartsupha, Chatthip, 1970). In Chiang Mai, the service industries, which are closely associated with the tourist industry, have long flourished and have made the economy of Chiang Mai the most affluent in the North. Despite sizeable investment in tourist oriented service industries, the economy of Kampaeng Petch has not reached the level of affluence of Chiang Mai. The evolution towards a modern economy in both cities has brought about many social changes, most notably the wider employment opportunities for women due to a decrease of sex-based job discrimination and of social disapproval of working women. The nature of and reasons for employment for wages or salaries differ with respect to the skills, educational attainment, and professional training of each individual low income female migrant. Motivations that induce female migrants to join the labor force can be summarized as follows:

1. The great majority of low income female migrants stress that they have financial reasons for working outside of their households, but the reasons vary according to background and status. For those who are single, the financial reason is simply to earn a living, whereas in most cases of married female migrants the financial reason is to secure a better standard of living or to have certain specific extras, such as education of children, rather than simple economic necessity.

2. To work outside the household provides an opportunity to escape boredom and loneliness at home.

3. Most of the young, unskilled or semi-skilled female migrants who work in small handicraft or industrial factories in Chiang Mai tend to stress the gaining of companionship at work as the main reason.

4. The job itself is intrinsically interesting or gives certain satisfactions in return. Such reasons are found to be widely expressed by those who are employed as beauty advisers, dressmakers, and department stores' counter salesgirls in Chiang Mai.

Data on occupational distribution shown in Table 8 reveal that the most common occupation in Kampaeng Petch is that of government officials and employees, whereas the most widely held occupation in Chiang Mai is that of clerical workers. This reflects the present stage of economic development which shapes the occupational distribution in each respective city. Service workers constitute the second largest group in both cities due to the importance of tourism in the two economies. The third largest occupational category in Kampaeng Petch is clerical workers, whereas in Chiang Mai it is government officials and employees.

This pattern signifies that the public sector is the biggest, most important employer in a small, less affluent city such as Kampaeng Petch in contrast to the private sector being the biggest and most important employer in a big, more affluent city like Chiang Mai. Interestingly, the fourth largest occupational category in Kampaeng Petch is school teachers, whereas that of maids or servants ranks fourth in Chiang Mai.

Broom and Smith have coined the term "bridging occupation" to describe the occupation which provides, through work experience, the conditions and opportunities for occupational mobility from one job to another (Parker, S.R. et al, 1972 : 158). Types of bridging occupations in the cases of Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch seem to differ as a result of the differences in size and in the level of economic affluence of the cities which make certain occupational opportunities more available to newly arrived female migrants. In Kampaeng Petch, bridging occupations are those of school teachers for individuals with high educational attainment, and "relative cum servants" (see below), construction workers, and factory workers for individuals of low educational attainment. In Chiang Mai, the picture is different; the popular bridging occupations are those of maids, servants, construction workers, factory workers, and service workers (such as restaurant waitresses), all of which usually require little education.

It is noteworthy that the preliminary survey of this study found that the occupation of maid or servant existed in Kampaeng Petch even though in a limited number. Nevertheless, none of the female migrants interviewed in Kampaeng Petch identified themselves as maids or servants, in contrast to a sizeable percentage (16.00 percent) in Chiang Mai who identified themselves as maids or servants. The underlying reason is that female migrants who perform the tasks of servants in Kampaeng Petch have some kinship relation with their employers and therefore do not regard themselves as servants. The combination of

Table 8. Occupational Distributions

	Kampaeng Petch		Chiang Mai	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Occupations</u>				
teacher	13	6.50	1	0.25
clerical worker	29	14.50	84	21.00
service worker	48	24.00	78	19.50
craft women	3	1.50	9	2.25
construction worker	5	2.50	27	6.75
industrial worker	12	6.00	53	13.25
semi-industrial worker				
government employer	90	45.00	77	19.25
maid or servant	0	0.00	64	16.00
manual worker	0	0.00	5	1.25
other	0	0.00	2	0.50
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
<u>Age at first employment</u>				
< 15 years of age	17	8.50	58	14.50
15-19	84	42.00	225	56.25
20-24	77	38.50	99	24.75
25-29	15	7.50	9	2.25
30-34	4	2.00	5	1.25
35-39	1	0.50	2	0.50
over 40	2	1.00	2	0.50
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

Table 8 (Cont'd)

Monthly wages

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
less than 400 Bht	2	1.00	20	5.00
400-699 Bht	28	14.00	77	19.25
700-999 Bht	45	22.50	108	27.00
1000-1299 Bht	52	26.00	141	35.25
1300-1499 Bht	45	22.50	48	12.00
1500-1800 Bht	28	14.00	6	1.50
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
Average minimum wage(baht)	1,115.25		943.5	

Table 9

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Educational requirements of present job</u>				
required no formal education	27	13.57	168	42.00
required grade 1-4	35	17.59	119	29.75
required grade 5-7	12	6.03	18	4.50
required M.S.1-M.S.3	29	14.57	26	6.50
required M.S.4-M.S.5	59	29.65	47	11.75
required vocational education	29	14.57	19	4.75
required university certificate	8	4.02	3	0.75
don't know, no answer	1		0	
Total	199	100.00	400	100.00

Table 9 (Cont'd)

Duration of working for wages

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
less than 1 year	77	38.50	94	23.50
1-3 years	67	33.50	175	43.75
4-6 years	31	15.50	73	18.25
7-9 years	7	3.50	30	7.50
10 years and over	18	9.00	28	7.00
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

"relative cum servant" is found to be rare in Chiang Mai; generally those who identified themselves as maids or servants in Chiang Mai have no kin relationship with their employers. Another interesting feature of the data is that the occupations in the categories of "manual workers" and "other" are found to be nonexistent in Kampaeng Petch but are found to be at 1.25 percent and 0.50 percent respectively in Chiang Mai. The information suggests that occupations in these categories, which would include hair dressers, dressmakers, and beauty advisers, flourish only at a certain level of economic affluence and are not found among low income female migrants in a small city such as Kampaeng Petch.

Other Occupational Characteristics

Information on various occupational characteristics of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch is summarized in Table 9.

Educational Requirements of Present Job

It is found that a small city such as Kampaeng Petch tends to have high educational requirements for obtaining jobs, while the educational requirements for jobs in a big city such as Chiang Mai tend to be low or nonexistent. This tendency stems from the fact that the public sector is the largest employer in Kampaeng Petch and jobs in the public sector have high educational requirements in comparison to those in the private sector. Therefore, in addition to higher age selectivity, migration to a small city such as Kampaeng Petch also tends to have higher educational selectivity. This may indicate that migratory moves to a small city are more purposeful in character than those made to a big city.

Duration of Working for Wages

The impact of recent investment in service industries in Kampaeng Petch is evident in the data on duration of working for wages. In Kampaeng Petch, the proportion of low income female migrants whose duration of labour force participation is less than a year is quite large at 38.50 percent, whereas the same category in Chiang Mai constitutes only 23.50 percent. The second largest group of 33.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch have remained in the labour force between one and three years; in contrast, this category constitutes the largest group in Chiang Mai at 43.75 percent. In both cities, the proportion of those who have durations of labour force participation longer than 3 years decrease successively, but the proportions remain high for the category of those who have participated in the labour force for 10 years or more (9.00 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 7.00 percent in Chiang Mai). The sizeable percentage of the latter category reflects the heavy concentration of government officials and employees with not less than a decade of in-service history.

Age at First Employment

The data indicate that the majority of female migrants in both cities had their first employment at the relatively early age of 15 to 19 years, with the category of 20 to 24 years ranking as the second largest group. Those who had their first employment at ages of more than 25 years decrease proportionately. Interestingly, the data show that sizeable percentages of 8.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 14.50 percent in Chiang Mai had their first employment at very young ages of less than 15 years. The slightly larger percentage of the latter category confirms the aforementioned finding that a big city like Chiang Mai has less age selectivity than a small city such as Kampaeng Petch.

The Amount of Wage

During the past five years, the Thai government has set up a minimum wage structure to oblige all private employers to pay adequate wages or salaries to their employees. The minimum wage structure has been adjusted several times, usually once a year, in accordance with the yearly increase in the cost of living. According to the latest adjustment, effective since 1 October 1980, the minimum wage in the North and Northeast regions has been set at 44 baht a day or the equivalent to 1,320 baht a month.

According to a nation-wide survey of the country's minimum wage structure conducted by the Bank of Thailand during the fiscal year which ended on 30 September, 1980, unskilled workers in the North earned less than the minimum wage requirement which was set at 35 baht a day or 1,050 baht a month, with an income averaging only 887 baht per month. The survey further noted that unskilled workers who received wages below the minimum wage requirement were mostly employed in the service businesses.

It was also reported that most of the employers did not respond favorably to the set minimum wage because they could not adjust the prices of their services and products to pay for the increase in wages (Bangkok Post, Wednesday, November 26, 1980).

The aforementioned scenario of minimum wages helps to explain the data on the amount of wages or salaries received by low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch which are presented in Table 10. As previously explained, individuals who earn anything less than 1,800 baht a month are considered to be in the low income group for the purposes of this study. The data show that 26.00 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 35.25 percent in Chiang Mai earn wages or salaries in the range of 1,000 to 1,299 baht a month. The data indicate that the wages or salaries of low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch are larger than those of their counterparts in Chiang Mai. The first indication is that Kampaeng Petch has only 1 percent in the category of those who earn 400 baht or less per month, in contrast to 5 percent of the same category in Chiang Mai. The second indication is that Kampaeng Petch has as much as 14.00 percent in the category of those who earn 1,500 to 1,800 baht a month, whereas the same category comprises only 1.50 percent in Chiang Mai. It is noteworthy that the average monthly wage or salary of low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch was 1,115.25 baht, whereas the average among their counterparts in Chiang Mai was only 943.50 baht during the last fiscal year. This demonstrates that low income female migrants in both cities earned less than the set minimum wage requirement of last year.

For those who are married and living with their husbands, the data in Table 11 show the amount of the combined husband and wife wages. The data confirm that, in Kampaeng Petch, not only those who are single but also those who are married are economically better off than their counterparts in Chiang Mai.

Table 10. Wages By Present Occupation

Kampaeng Petch

PRESENT OCCUPATION

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	PRESENT OCCUPATION										TOTAL
	TEACHER	CLERICAL	SERVICE	HANDI- CRAFT	BUILDING LABORER	FACTORY WORKER	GOV. OFF- ICIAL	MAID & SERVANT	MANUAL WORKER	OTHER	
WAGES < 400 BAHT	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	1 50.00 02.08	1 50.00 33.33	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	2 001.0 001.0
400-699	1 03.57 07.69	9 32.14 31.03	17 60.71 35.41	1 03.57 33.33	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	28 014.0 014.0
700-999	2 04.44 15.38	10 22.22 34.48	19 42.22 39.58	1 02.22 33.33	3 06.66 60.00	3 06.66 25.00	7 15.55 07.77	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	45 022.5 022.5
1000-1299	6 11.53 46.15	8 15.38 27.58	6 11.53 12.50	0 00.00 00.00	1 01.92 20.00	3 05.76 25.00	28 53.84 31.11	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	52 026.0 026.0
1300-1500	4 08.88 30.76	2 04.44 06.89	5 11.11 10.41	0 00.00 00.00	1 02.22 20.00	4 08.88 33.33	29 64.44 32.22	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	45 022.5 022.5
1500-1800	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	2 07.14 16.66	26 92.85 28.88	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	0 00.00 00.00	28 014.0 014.0
TOTAL	13 06.50	29 14.50	48 24.00	3 01.50	5 02.50	12 06.00	90 45.00	0 00.00	0 00.00	0 00.00	200 100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 138.6144850127 WITH 45 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 200
MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

Table 10 (Cont'd)

Chiang Mai

PRESENT OCCUPATION										
COUNT										
ROW PCT	TEACHER	CLERICAL	SERVICE	HANDI- CRAFT	BUILDING LABORER	FACORY WORKER	GOV. OFF- ICIAL	MAID & SERVANT	MANUAL WORKER	OTHER
COL PCT										TOTAL
WAGES										
<400 BAHT										
400-699	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	14	1	1
	00.00	00.00	15.00	05.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	70.00	05.00	05.00
	00.00	00.00	03.84	11.11	00.00	00.00	00.00	21.87	20.00	50.00
700-999	0	1	22	1	0	3	4	45	1	0
	00.00	01.29	28.57	01.29	00.00	03.89	05.19	58.44	01.29	00.00
	00.00	01.19	28.20	11.11	00.00	05.66	05.19	70.31	20.00	00.00
1000-1299	0	32	12	1	9	40	8	4	2	0
	00.00	29.62	11.11	00.92	08.33	37.03	07.40	03.70	01.85	00.00
	00.00	38.09	15.38	11.11	33.33	75.47	10.38	06.25	40.00	00.00
1300-1500	0	47	31	5	18	10	27	1	1	1
	00.00	33.33	21.98	03.54	12.76	07.09	19.14	00.70	00.70	00.70
	00.00	55.95	39.74	55.55	66.66	18.86	35.06	01.56	20.00	50.00
1500-1800	1	4	8	1	0	0	34	0	0	0
	02.08	08.33	16.66	02.08	00.00	00.00	70.83	00.00	00.00	00.00
	100.00	04.76	10.25	11.11	00.00	00.00	44.15	00.00	00.00	00.00
TOTAL	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	0
	00.00	00.00	33.33	00.00	00.00	00.00	66.66	00.00	00.00	00.00
	00.00	00.00	02.56	00.00	00.00	00.00	05.19	00.00	00.00	00.00
TOTAL	1	84	78	9	27	53	77	64	5	2
	00.25	21.00	19.50	02.25	06.75	13.25	19.25	16.00	01.25	00.50

CHI-SQUARE = 546.7054243029 WITH 45 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 400

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0)R 0 %

Table 11. Wages Include Husband's By Marital Status

Kampaeng Petch

MARITAL STATUS						
COUNT						
ROW PCT	SINGLE	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	DIVORCED	WIDOWED	TOTAL
COL PCT			SEP.			
WAGES INCLUDE HUSBAND'S						
1000 BAHT	0	0	0	0	0	0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
1000-1499	0	2	1	0	0	3
	00.00	66.66	33.33	00.00	00.00	001.5
	00.00	03.38	25.00	00.00	00.00	
1500-1999	0	6	1	0	0	7
	00.00	85.71	14.28	00.00	00.00	003.7
	00.00	10.16	25.00	00.00	00.00	
2000-2499	0	8	1	0	0	9
	00.00	88.88	11.11	00.00	00.00	004.7
	00.00	13.55	25.00	00.00	00.00	
2500-2999	0	28	0	0	0	28
	00.00	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	014.8
	00.00	47.45	00.00	00.00	00.00	
3000-3500	0	15	1	0	0	16
	00.00	93.75	06.25	00.00	00.00	008.5
	00.00	25.42	25.00	00.00	00.00	
SINGLE/DIVO./W	109	0	0	8	8	125
	87.20	00.00	00.00	06.40	06.40	066.4
	100.00	00.00	00.00	100.00	100.00	
TOTAL	109	59	4	8	8	188
	57.97	31.38	02.12	04.25	04.25	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 3948.883804666

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 188

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 12 OR 2.321083172147 %

Table 11 (Cont'd)

Chiang Mai

MARITAL STATUS						
COUNT						
ROW PCT	SINGLE	MARRIAGE	MARRIAGE	DIVORCED	WIDOWED	TOTAL
COL PCT			SEP.			
WAGES INCLUDE HUSBAND'S						
1000 BAHT	0	1	1	0	0	2
	00.00	50.00	50.00	00.00	00.00	000.5
	00.00	01.56	10.00	00.00	00.00	
1000-1499	0	4	0	0	0	4
	00.00	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.0
	00.00	06.25	00.00	00.00	00.00	
1500-1999	0	6	0	0	0	6
	00.00	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.5
	00.00	09.37	00.00	00.00	00.00	
2000-2499	0	19	4	1	0	24
	00.00	79.16	16.66	04.16	00.00	006.1
	00.00	29.68	40.00	06.66	00.00	
2500-2999	0	19	3	0	0	22
	00.00	86.36	13.63	00.00	00.00	005.6
	00.00	29.68	30.00	00.00	00.00	
3000-3500	0	15	2	0	0	17
	00.00	88.23	11.76	00.00	00.00	004.3
	00.00	23.43	20.00	00.00	00.00	
SINGLE/DIVO./W	298	0	0	14	4	316
	94.30	00.00	00.00	04.43	01.26	080.8
	100.00	00.00	00.00	93.33	100.00	
TOTAL	298	64	10	15	4	391
	76.21	16.36	02.55	03.83	01.02	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 4356.779469218 WITH 24 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 391

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 9 OR 1.74081237911 %

The largest category of combined wages or salaries in Kampaeng Petch is in the range of 2,500 to 2,999 baht a month, whereas the largest category of combined wages or salaries in Chiang Mai is in the range of 2,000 to 2,499 baht a month. Besides, Kampaeng Petch has 8.5 percent of combined wages or salaries in the maximum range of 3,000 to 3,500 baht a month, which is twice as large as the 4.3 percent in this category in Chiang Mai. The data in Table 10 show the amounts of wage or salary by occupation of low income female migrants in the two cities. The information suggests that the occupation of government official or government employee is the best paid job in both cities. The second best paid occupation is that of service workers. The fact that such jobs are relatively well paid adds attractiveness to these occupations among low income female migrants in both cities.

Commuting Patterns

An indication of an advanced economy is said to be the clear-cut separation between a place of residence and a place of work (Prachuabmoh et al, 1972, p.30). Data on commuting patterns of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch shown in Table 12 seem to support the above statement. A large percentage of 22.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and the largest group of 37.50 percent in Chiang Mai do not commute to work. Employers of several types of occupations tend to provide living quarters usually in or near the work places for their female employees. In addition, government officials or employees are provided with public housing, even though in inadequate proportions. Therefore those who hold the occupations of restaurant waitresses, factory workers, maids or servants, and government officials or employees are likely to live in or near their work places and do not commute to work. For those who do commute to their work places, the largest groups, 29.00 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 36.50 percent in Chiang Mai, reported that commuting distance is less than one kilometer and that it takes less than half an hour to travel. In both cities, walking is the most common mode of travel. Riding bicycles is equally popular in a small city such as Kampaeng Petch. Motorcycles are found to be the favourite vehicles in provincial urban places all over the country.

It is noteworthy that a small percentage of 2.50 percent still commute by man-powered samlor (trishaw) in Kampaeng Petch, whereas in Chiang Mai there is a high tendency to commute by mini-buses or buses instead of man-powered samlor. Data in Table 12 also show the exceptional cases of commuting by private cars in both cities. These exceptional cases are to be further discussed under the heading of household possessions.

Table 12. Distance, Time and Methods of Travel to Work

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Distance to work</u>				
no commuting	45	22.50	150	37.50
less than 1 Kilometer	58	29.00	146	36.50
1-2 Kilometers	56	28.00	45	11.25
3-4 Kilometers	27	13.50	26	6.50
5-6 Kilometers	8	4.00	13	3.25
7-8 Kilometers	2	1.00	6	1.50
9-10 Kilometers	1	0.50	3	0.75
more than 10 Kilometers	3	1.50	11	2.75
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
<u>Time to commute</u>				
no commuting	45	22.50	150	37.50
less than half an hour	138	69.00	231	57.75
less than one hour	10	5.00	15	3.75
about one hour	6	3.00	3	0.75
more than one hour	1	0.50	1	0.25
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

Table 12 (Cont'd)

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Method of Travel</u>				
No commuting	45	22.50	150	37.50
walk	50	25.00	148	37.00
ride a bicycle	50	25.00	14	3.50
ride a motorcycle	38	19.00	45	11.25
ride a tricycle (samlor)	5	2.50	0	0.00
bus	4	2.00	17	4.25
minibus	5	2.50	25	6.25
private car	1	0.50	1	0.25
other	2	1.00	0	0.00
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

Occupational Attitudes

Information pertaining to present occupations is summarized in Table 13. The majority of low income female migrants in both cities agreed that their monthly wages or salaries are not sufficient to cover the ever-rising cost of living and expressed the desire to have an increase in wages or salaries. An increase in the range of 300 to 499 baht a month was deemed sufficient and most appropriate by the majority of 31.09 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 32.41 percent in Chiang Mai.

Table 13

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Attitudes toward adequacy of wages</u>				
sufficient	44	22.00	129	32.25
insufficient	152	76.00	266	66.50
don't know, no answer	4	2.00	5	1.25
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
<u>Expectation of increase in wages</u>				
no need	7	3.63	3	0.76
depend on boss	6	3.11	10	2.53
less than 100 Bht	4	2.07	8	2.03
100-299 Bht	45	23.32	121	30.63
300-499 Bht	60	31.09	128	32.41
500-699 Bht	40	20.72	77	19.49
700-899 Bht	6	3.11	14	3.54
900-1099 Bht	11	5.70	19	4.81
1100 and over	14	7.25	15	3.10
don't know, no answer	7		5	
Total	193	100.00	395	100.00
<u>Work satisfaction</u>				
satisfied	160	80.00	281.00	70.25
unsatisfied	29	14.50	107	26.75
don't know, no answer	11	5.50	12	3.00
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
<u>Attitudes toward changing job</u>				
ever thought	100	50.00	256	64.00
never thought	93	46.50	134	33.50
don't know	7	3.50	10	2.50
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

Table 14

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Preferred occupation</u>				
teacher	27	17.53	32	8.38
clerical	15	9.74	41	10.73
service worker	2	1.30	16	4.19
handicraft	3	1.95	17	4.45
building laborer	1	0.65	4	1.05
factory worker	5	3.25	11	2.88
government official	56	36.36	91	23.82
maid or servant	3	1.95	6	1.57
manual worker	19	12.34	118	30.89
merchant	23	14.93	46	12.04
don't know, no answer	46		18	
Total	154	100.00	382	100.00

When asked about their work satisfaction, 80.00 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 70.25 percent in Chiang Mai were reported to be satisfied. Nevertheless, when asked whether they have ever thought about changing their jobs, 50.00 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 64.00 percent in Chiang Mai reported that they have considered changing their present jobs to other jobs more to their liking.

The data in Table 14 reveal that in Kampaeng Petch, 36.36 percent of low income female migrants would like to be government officials or government employees, 17.53 percent would like to be school teachers, and 14.93 percent would like to be merchants. The stated reason for wanting to be government officials or employees and school teachers had to do with a guarantee of wages or salaries fixed according to the government's minimum wage requirement. On the other hand, being a merchant was deemed advantageous because of having the opportunity to increase prices of goods.

In Chiang Mai, the pattern of desired occupations was different. The majority of 30.89 percent would like to be manual workers, such as hair dressers, dressmakers, and beauty advisers. The stated reasons were that these occupations yield handsome incomes for those who are skilled and well known, and the jobs themselves are interesting and offer the highest intrinsic satisfaction. The desire to be government officials or employees ranks second for the same reasons as those given in Kampaeng Petch. Interestingly, the third most preferred occupation in Chiang Mai was also that of merchant, as in Kampaeng Petch, indicating the same line of reckoning. Nonetheless, the high percentage of those who desire to change their jobs suggests the tendency for high occupational mobility that generally prevails among city dwellers.

Household Possessions

To further assess the material wealth of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch, information on household possessions was gathered and is shown in Table 15. Data show that the two most widely possessed household items were radios and clocks or watches. Widespread radio ownership has made radio listening the favorite past-time among low income

female migrants in both cities. Furthermore, the fact that most of the low income female migrants in both cities own clocks or watches suggests that they have become time conscious people, which is a prevalent characteristic of modern city dwellers. Also widely possessed are bicycles and motorcycles. These are deemed to be substitutes for cars, which are generally beyond the economic reach of low income female migrants. Electric fans and television sets are also commonly owned, which reflects the access to electricity of urban households. Overall, there are not many differences of material wealth between the low income female migrants' households in Chiang Mai and in Kampaeng Petch. One difference lies in the method of acquiring household possessions. Buying in cash is prevalent in Kampaeng Petch, whereas buying by installments is widely practiced by low income female migrants in Chiang Mai. The situation reflects that low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch have more purchasing power than their counterparts in Chiang Mai and that the so-called "demonstration effect" is strong in Chiang Mai, so as to motivate the majority of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai to buy most of their household possessions by installments before they can afford to buy them outright. Most noteworthy is the fact that 4.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 1.00 percent in Chiang Mai reported car ownership; moreover, in some cases, the cars were bought in cash. These exceptional cases indicate that some low income female migrants are not poor as previously defined and that their wages or salaries are not the only source of their incomes. Due to the nature of some occupations, wages or salaries constitute only a part of the whole income; extra income in the forms of tips, service charges, and commission from private wheelings and dealings amount to as much as or sometimes even more than the amounts of their current earnings. Marriage to husbands who also receive low wages or salaries but come from rich families gives another access to extra income in the form of land or commercial building rentals which come from the inheritance left by the death of parents in-law.

Table 15. Selected Household Possessions

	Kampaeng Petch					Chiang Mai				
	Cash	Installment	Other	N	%	Cash	Installment	Other	N	%
<u>Household Possessions</u>										
bicycle	71	16	3	90	45.00	81	31	6	118	29.50
motorcycle	32	20	0	52	26.00	21	63	1	85	21.25
radio	72	19	3	94	47.00	158	40	17	215	53.75
television	20	24	2	46	23.00	25	32	0	57	14.25
sewing machine	14	4	3	21	10.50	37	27	3	67	16.75
electric fan	75	26	3	104	52.00	96	53	7	156	39.00
gas stove	18	4	0	22	11.00	19	2	1	22	5.50
clocks/watches	95	12	6	113	56.50	212	24	14	250	62.50
automobile	1	8	0	9	4.50	2	2	0	4	1.00
other	9	3	1	13	6.50	50	16	9	75	18.75
Total				564					1049	

This leads to the conclusion that using the amount of wages or salaries as the sole indicator of poverty may not be as reliable as expected.

House Ownership

House ownership is another indication of economic wealth. Information on house ownership of low income female migrants is presented in Table 16. According to the data, only 13.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 6.50 percent in Chiang Mai claimed house ownership. The majority of low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch were found to live in rented houses. In Chiang Mai, the majority of respondents reported living in houses or other living quarters provided to them by private companies or private employers. The percentage of those who live in rented houses in Chiang Mai accounts for only 16.50 percent, in contrast to 43.00 percent in Kampaeng Petch. The higher percentage of those who live in government houses in Kampaeng Petch indicates that government housing is spread more adequately among minor government officials or employees in that city than in a big city such as Chiang Mai.

Table 16. House Ownership

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>House Ownership</u>				
Husband's Parent's	6	3.00	3	0.75
Own Parent's	0	0.00	1	0.25
Own	27	13.50	26	6.50
Rent	86	43.00	67	16.50
Government House	31	15.50	23	5.75
Private Company	12	6.00	132	33.00
Private Employer's	17	8.50	126	31.50
Stay at Office	1	0.50	2	0.50
Relative/Friend	18	9.00	18	4.50
Other	2	1.00	2	0.50
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

The exploration of social characteristics and related attitudes among low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch is significant in determining how modern are their ideas and values, which is crucial to their success in self adjustment to urban environments. For this purpose, the study collected data on religious affiliation and supernatural beliefs, educational attainment, mate selection, educational expectation for sons and daughters, and exposure to mass media.

Religious Affiliation and Supernatural Beliefs

Low income female migrants in both cities are found to be overwhelmingly Buddhist as shown in Table 17. Buddhists in Thailand tend to have supernatural beliefs and practices. The rural Thais usually consult with monks or fortune tellers prior to the undertaking of anything deemed important to their lives. Thus it is of interest to measure the levels of adherence to this traditional trait. Data show that most of the low income female migrants in both cities have largely relinquished their beliefs in supernatural practices and fortune readings. However, the proportion of those who still believe in supernatural practices and fortune readings in Chiang Mai is slightly greater than in Kampaeng Petch. This may suggest that the combination of lower educational attainment and greater tensions of big city urban life tend to make Chiang Mai residents more inclined to be clients of magical performers and fortune tellers. The opposite trend is likely to be found in a small city such as Kampaeng Petch.

Table 17

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
BUDDHISM	200	100.00	394	98.50
CHRISTIANITY	0	0.00	5	1.25
ISLAM	0	0.00	1	0.25
MIXED	0	0.00	0	0.00
OTHER	0	0.00	0	0.00
TOTAL	200	100.00	400	100.00

Supernatural beliefs expressed by performing magical ceremonies

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	N	%	N	%
have performed	46	23.72	97	24.56
not performed but believe in	79	40.72	201	50.88
does not believe in	69	35.56	97	24.56
don't know, no answer	6		5	
Total	194	100.00	395	100.00

Number of Times Seeing Fortune Teller Last Month

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	N	%	N	%
never want	179	89.50	344	86.65
once or twice	18	9.00	48	12.09
more often	3	1.50	5	1.26
don't know, no answer			3	
Total	200	100.00	397	100.00

Educational Attainment and Expectations for Sons and Daughters

The ever changing government policy has made Thai education a confusing system. Four years of elementary education was first made compulsory in 1921. Children who had reached seven years of age were required to attend school until they had completed Grade 4 or until the age of fourteen, whichever came first. In 1960, the National Scheme of Education came into force and elementary education was extended to Grade 7. Prior to 1960, secondary education was combined in one stream with no division of academic or vocational streams. All students had to be in school until the completion of Mathayom 6 before continuing with further academic education. The 1960 re-organization divided secondary education into two streams with changes of the terminal grades. At the secondary level, the academic stream consisted of Grades 8-10 (Mathayom Suksa 1-3) in the lower secondary school, and Grades 11-12 (Mathayom Suksa 4-5) in the upper secondary school. Thus Grade 10 and Grade 12 were terminal grades. The vocational stream consisted of Grades 8-10 and Grades 11-13 in lower and upper schools respectively. Thus Grade 10 and Grade 13 were terminal grades, although in certain areas of vocational training, Grade 12 was considered terminal. The policy was gradually implemented according to the economic ability of the country and the readiness of each locality. However, achievement of the goals of this policy was quite limited. The finding of the Longitudinal Survey in 1969 reported that 87 percent of males aged 15 and over had four or fewer years of schooling, and this increased to 93 percent for females (Prachuabmoh et al, 1972 : 35-38).

The wide-spread failures led to the announcement of a new national education policy in 1977. According to the new structure, the Thai educational system is divided into 3 parts: elementary education, secondary education, and higher education.

Table 18. Women's by Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment		Kampaeng Petch							
WOMEN'S AGE	COUNT	NO SCHL.	PRATON 1-4	PRATON 5-7	MS. 1-3	MS. 4-5	VOCATIONAL	OTHER	TOTAL
	ROW PCT COL PCT								
< 15		0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
		00.00	50.00	00.00	00.00	50.00	00.00	00.00	001.0
		00.00	01.66	00.00	00.00	01.72	00.00	00.00	
15-19		0	14	3	5	7	1	0	30
		00.00	46.66	10.00	16.66	23.33	03.33	00.00	015.0
		00.00	23.33	33.33	16.12	12.06	02.63	00.00	
20-24		1	15	3	10	40	30	1	100
		01.00	15.00	03.00	10.00	40.00	30.00	01.00	050.0
		33.33	25.00	33.33	32.25	68.96	78.94	100.00	
25-29		0	13	1	7	6	7	0	34
		00.00	38.23	02.94	20.58	17.64	20.58	00.00	017.0
		00.00	21.66	11.11	22.58	10.34	18.42	00.00	
30-34		1	10	2	6	2	0	0	21
		04.76	47.61	09.52	28.57	09.52	00.00	00.00	010.5
		33.33	16.66	22.22	19.35	03.44	00.00	00.00	
35-39		0	4	0	3	2	0	0	9
		00.00	44.44	00.00	33.33	22.22	00.00	00.00	004.5
		00.00	06.66	00.00	09.67	03.44	00.00	00.00	
40-44		0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
		00.00	100.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.0
		00.00	03.33	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
45 and over		1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
		50.00	50.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.0
		33.33	01.66	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
TOTAL		3	60	9	31	58	38	1	200
		01.50	30.00	04.50	15.50	29.00	19.00	00.50	

CHI-SQUARE = 946.9351871058 WITH 42 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 200

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

Table 18 (Cont'd)

Chiang Mai

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	NO SCHL.	PRATOM 1-4	PRATOM 5-7	MS. 1-3	MS. 4-5	VOCATIONAL	OTHER	TOTAL
WOMEN'S AGE < 15	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
	00.00	66.66	33.33	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.7
	00.00	01.02	01.29	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
15-19	3	64	27	13	8	2	1	118
	02.54	54.23	22.88	11.01	06.77	01.69	00.84	029.5
	42.85	32.82	35.06	28.88	17.39	07.14	50.00	
20-24	0	85	34	22	25	17	1	184
	00.00	46.19	18.47	11.95	13.58	09.23	00.54	046.0
	00.00	43.58	44.15	48.88	54.34	60.71	50.00	
25-29	1	23	14	8	9	6	0	61
	01.63	37.70	22.95	13.11	14.75	09.83	00.00	015.2
	14.28	11.79	18.18	17.77	19.56	21.42	00.00	
30-34	0	8	0	0	1	1	0	10
	00.00	80.00	00.00	00.00	10.00	10.00	00.00	002.5
	00.00	04.10	00.00	00.00	02.17	03.57	00.00	
35-39	0	8	0	1	3	1	0	13
	00.00	61.53	00.00	07.69	23.07	07.69	00.00	003.2
	00.00	04.10	00.00	02.22	06.52	03.57	00.00	
40-44	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	7
	28.57	28.57	14.28	14.28	00.00	14.28	00.00	001.7
	28.57	01.02	01.29	02.22	00.00	03.57	00.00	
45 and over	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	4
	25.00	75.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.0
	14.28	01.53	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
TOTAL	7	195	77	45	46	28	2	400
	01.75	48.75	19.25	11.25	11.50	07.00	00.50	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 1023.137732648 WITH 42 DEGREE OF FREEDOM

TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 400

MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

The elementary education is reduced to 6 years of compulsory schooling. The secondary education remains organized into two streams: academic and vocational. Changes were also made in the terminal grades for both the academic and vocational schemes. In the academic stream, grade 9 and grade 12 are terminal grades, whereas in the vocational stream, terminal grades can be variously arranged from institution to institution. The higher education at university level begins thereafter (National Education Plan, Office of National Education Board, 1977).

It should be noted that the question on educational attainment in this study was based on the previous 1960-1977 national education system because none of the respondents were effected by the new national education system.

Information on educational attainment of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch is presented in Table 18. The data indicate that illiteracy or lack of elementary education is decreasing owing to the spread of compulsory education. The percentages of those who have no schooling account for only 1.50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 1.75 percent in Chiang Mai. The majority in both cities have attained elementary education of Grades 1-4 and claimed to be able to read and write. For those who have higher educational attainment than that of elementary education, low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch have a higher ratio of educational achievement as can be seen in the categories of Grades 8-10, Grades 11-13 (M.S. 1-3 and M.S. 4-5), and vocational studies. The reason why a small city such as Kampaeng Petch has a higher educational attainment ratio than a big city such as Chiang Mai is that Chiang Mai tends to have less age and educational selectivity in the group of low income female migrants than does Kampaeng Petch, as a result of great occupational opportunities in Chiang Mai. Data in Table 19 show the correlations of educational attainment and presently held occupations which support the above conclusion. The heavier

Table 19. Present Occupation by Educational Attainment

Kampaeng Petch

Educational Attainment

PRESENT OCCUPATION	COUNT		NO SCHL.	PRATOM 1-4	PRATOM 5-7	MS. 1-3	MS. 4-5	VOCATIONAL	OTHER	TOTAL
	ROW PCT	COL PCT								
TEACHER	0			0	1	1	9	2	0	13
	00.00			00.00	07.69	07.69	69.23	15.38	00.00	006.5
	00.00			00.00	11.11	03.22	15.51	05.26	00.00	
CLERICAL	0			9	2	3	6	9	0	29
	00.00			31.03	06.89	10.34	20.68	31.03	00.00	014.5
	00.00			15.00	22.22	09.67	10.34	23.68	00.00	
SERVICE	1			25	6	10	4	2	0	48
	02.08			52.08	12.50	20.83	08.33	04.16	00.00	024.0
	33.33			41.66	66.66	32.25	06.89	05.26	00.00	
HANDICRAFT	0			2	0	1	0	0	0	3
	00.00			66.66	00.00	33.33	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.5
	00.00			03.33	00.00	03.22	00.00	00.00	00.00	
BUILDING LABORER	1			4	0	0	0	0	0	5
	20.00			80.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	002.5
	33.33			06.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
FACTORY WORKER	1			10	0	0	0	0	1	12
	08.33			83.33	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	08.33	006.0
	33.33			16.66	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	100.00	

Kampaeng Petch (Cont'd)

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	NO SCHL.	PRATOM 1-4	PRATOM 5-7	MS. 1-3	MS. 4-5	VOCATIONAL	OTHER	TOTAL
GOV. OFFICIAL & EMPLOYEE	0	10	0	16	39	25	0	90
	00.00	11.11	00.00	17.77	43.33	27.77	00.00	045.0
	00.00	16.66	00.00	51.61	67.24	65.78	00.00	
MAID & SERVANT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
MANUAL WORKER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.0
	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
TOTAL	3	60	9	31	58	38	1	200
	01.50	30.00	04.50	15.50	29.00	19.00	00.50	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 2160.792617143 WITH 54 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 200
MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

Table 19 (Cont'd)

Chiang Mai

Educational Attainment

PRESENT OCCUPATION	COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	NO SCHL.	PRATOM 1-4	PRATOM 5-7	MS. 1-3	MS. 4-5	VOCATIONAL	OTHER	TOTAL
TEACHER		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
		00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	100.0	00.00	000.2
		00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	03.57	00.00	
CLERICAL		0	40	16	12	11	5	0	84
		00.00	47.61	10.04	14.28	13.29	05.95	00.00	021.0
		00.00	20.51	20.77	26.66	23.91	17.85	00.00	
SERVICE		0	38	20	10	5	5	0	78
		00.00	48.71	25.64	12.82	06.41	06.41	00.00	019.5
		00.00	19.48	25.97	22.22	10.86	17.85	00.00	
HANDICRAFT		0	8	1	0	0	0	0	9
		00.00	88.88	11.11	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	002.2
		00.00	04.10	01.29	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
BUILDING LABORER		5	19	2	1	0	0	0	27
		18.51	70.37	07.40	03.70	00.00	00.00	00.00	006.7
		71.42	09.74	02.59	02.22	00.00	00.00	00.00	
FACTORY WORKER		0	29	21	3	0	0	0	53
		00.00	54.71	39.62	05.66	00.00	00.00	00.00	013.2
		00.00	14.87	27.27	06.66	00.00	00.00	00.00	

Chiang Mai (Cont'd)

COUNT ROW PCT COL PCT	NO SCHL.	PRATOM		MS. 1-3	MS. 4-5	VOCATIONAL	OTHER	TOTAL
		1-4	5-7					
GOV. OFFICIAL & EMPLOYEE	0	14	5	16	26	16	0	77
	00.00	18.18	06.49	20.77	33.76	20.77	00.00	019.2
	00.00	07.17	06.49	35.55	56.52	57.14	00.00	
MAID & SERVANT	2	41	11	3	4	1	2	64
	03.12	64.06	17.18	04.68	06.25	01.56	03.12	016.0
	28.57	21.02	14.28	06.66	08.69	03.57	100.00	
MANUAL WORKER	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5
	00.00	100.0	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	001.2
	00.00	02.56	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
OTHER	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
	00.00	50.00	50.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	000.5
	00.00	00.51	01.29	00.00	00.00	00.00	00.00	
TOTAL	7	195	77	45	46	28	2	400
	01.75	48.75	19.25	11.25	11.50	07.00	00.50	100.0

CHI-SQUARE = 2376.852596269 WITH 54 DEGREE OF FREEDOM
TOTAL OBSERVATIONS = 400
MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0 OR 0 %

concentration of government officials and employees whose occupation has the highest educational requirement is the main factor contributing to the pattern of high educational selectivity in Kampaeng Petch, whereas the relatively low educational selectivity in Chiang Mai stems from more even distribution of low educational requirement occupations.

Data on the expectations of low income female migrants as to the levels of their sons' and daughters' educations were also collected, but are not presented. According to the information, there is no sex preference in giving education to their children. Most of the low income female migrants in both cities expressed the wishful thinking that their children should have the highest educational attainment possible, preferably at university level. Even though this aspiration is unrealistic, it reflects the recognized importance of education in urban occupational mobility among the group of low income female migrants in both cities.

Mate Selection

In an attempt to assess the modernness of low income female migrants' attitudes on mate selection patterns, questions about the circumstances of their first marriage were asked to those who are married and living with their respective husbands. The results are summarized and presented in Table 20. The majority in both cities claimed to have selected their mates by themselves. It should be noted that Chiang Mai has a slightly higher percentage of those who claimed to have chosen their own spouses and a slightly lower percentage of those who reported having had their spouses selected by parents of either side. The trend suggests that low income female migrants in both cities have very modernized attitudes and practices of mate selection and that the traditional method of mate selection following the advice of either side's parents is on the decline.

Table 20

MATE SELECTION

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
PARENTS	9	10.00	7	7.00
FRIENDS	0	0.00	0	0.00
RELATIVES	1	1.11	3	3.00
YOURSELF	80	88.88	90	90.00
OTHER	0	0.00	0	0.00
OTHER MARITAL STATUS	109		298	
	1	MISSING	2	MISSING
TOTAL	90	100.00	100	100.00
VALID CASES =	90		100	
MISSING =	110		300	

SIZE OF MARRIAGE PAYMENT

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
NO PAYMENT	18	20.22	47	47.47
LESS THAN 500	1	1.12	3	3.03
500-1000	4	4.49	5	5.05
1001-2000	9	10.11	10	10.10
2001-3000	5	5.61	10	10.10
3001-4000	11	12.35	5	5.05
MORE THAN 4000	41	46.06	19	19.19
OTHER MARITAL STATUS	109		298	
	2	MISSING	3	MISSING
TOTAL	89	100.00	99	100.00
VALID CASES =	89		99	
MISSING =	111		301	

Table 20 (Cont'd)

MARRIAGE CEREMONY

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
PERFORMED	62	68.88	60	58.82
NOT PERFORMED	28	31.11	42	41.17
OTHER MARITAL STATUS	109	MISSING	298	MISSING
	1	MISSING	0	MISSING
TOTAL	90	100.00	102	100.00
VALID CASES =	90		102	
MISSING =	110		298	

MARRIAGE REGISTRATION

	<u>KAMPAENG PETCH</u>		<u>CHIANG MAI</u>	
	FRQ.	%	FRQ.	%
YES	59	66.29	61	59.80
NO	30	33.70	41	40.19
OTHER MARITAL STATUS	109		298	
	2	MISSING	0	MISSING
TOTAL	89	100.00	102	100.00
VALID CASES =	89		102	
MISSING =	111		298	

Traditionally, marriage payments are as common in Thailand as in many other societies. Generally speaking, there are two main types of marriage payments: bride-price and dowry. According to a previous study, payments of a bride-price are quite common, but dowry payments are virtually unknown in Thai society (Prachaubmoh et al, 1972, p. 53). These payments can be made in cash or in kind and function as a guarantee of good intentions on the part of the party that pays. Data show that low income female migrants in Chiang Mai are more modernized in this respect than those in Kampaeng Petch. Almost half of the married respondents in Chiang Mai reported that there was no payment involved in their marriage, whereas only 20.22 percent reported such cases in Kampaeng Petch. As for the size of marriage payments among those who still adhered to traditional practice, the amount usually exceeded 4,000 baht in both cities.

The majority of low income female migrants in both cities reported having had marriage ceremonies and marriage registration in order to make a social and legal declaration of their married status. This may reflect the increase in awareness of legal rights which is prevalent in a modern society, and the depressing trend of common law marriage in both cities.

Exposure to Mass Media

With the advent of new communication technologies and greater availability of electricity in urban areas, low income female migrants in both cities are more exposed to mass media than in former times. Information on exposure to mass media is summarized and shown in Table 21. The data on household possessions have already indicated that most of the low income female migrants own radios. Therefore, radio is clearly the mass medium to which most low income female migrants in both cities are exposed most frequently. A majority of 50.35 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 64.41 percent in Chiang Mai reported they listened to the radio every day and deemed radio listening as their favorite pastime.

Table 21

Exposure to Mass Media

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
<u>Newspaper reading</u>	N	%	N	%
everyday	49	24.50	112	28.00
almost daily	60	30.00	107	26.75
once in a while	83	41.50	157	39.25
never read	8	4.00	24	6.00
don't know, no answer	0		0	
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00
<u>Newspaper Purchasing</u>				
every day	25	12.56	19	4.75
almost daily	27	13.57	19	4.75
once in a while	65	32.66	149	37.25
never buy	82	41.21	213	53.25
don't know, no answer	1		0	
Total	199	100.00	400	100.00
<u>Radio Listening</u>				
every day	100	50.25	257	64.41
almost daily	24	12.06	57	14.29
seldom	60	30.15	68	17.04
never listen	15	7.54	17	4.26
don't know, no answer	1		1	
Total	199	100.00	399	100.00

Table 21 (Cont'd)

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Television Viewing</u>				
every day	48	24.12	131	32.83
almost daily	17	8.54	66	16.54
seldom	97	48.74	154	38.60
never seen	37	18.60	48	12.03
don't know, no answer	1		1	
Total	199	100.00	399	100.00
<u>Movies seen last month</u>				
none	75	37.69	176	44.11
1-2 times	72	39.20	162	40.60
3-4 times	28	14.07	42	10.53
4 or more	18	9.04	19	4.76
don't know, no answer	1		1	
Total	199	100.00	399	100.00

Television ownership is not as common as radio ownership, and as a result television viewing is much less frequent than radio listening. Data clearly show that the frequency of television viewing is less in Kampaeng Petch than in Chiang Mai. The underlying reason may be related to the recent set-up in Chiang Mai of a color television transmitting station (Channel 7) which provides much better programme than the former local black and white station of Channel 8, whereas receivers in Kampaeng Petch can only be tuned to the broadcast from Channel 8.

As for the frequency of newspaper reading, the data indicate that newspapers are almost equally as widespread as other mass media, since illiteracy rates are low in both cities. However, the data show that the frequency of newspaper purchasing is low in both cities, but with a sharp difference between Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch. The ratio of newspaper purchasing in Kampaeng Petch is almost triple that of Chiang Mai. This situation may be the result of higher educational attainment and less austerity in spending behavior. The two cities have similar patterns of movie-going, which is seen not only as entertainment but also as a source of information about the latest life styles in Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis which can be imitated in continuing efforts to modernize. The frequencies of movie-going among low income female migrants of the two cities are about the same even though the rationale is different. In a small city such as Kampaeng Petch, movie-going provides the only recreational entertainment for leisure time, even though movie theaters are not numerous nor of the deluxe class as those in a big city. In Chiang Mai, movie-going provides the cheapest and the most readily available form of entertainment, although other kinds of recreation are also available.

CHAPTER V

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES

Due to their reproductive role, low income female migrants have become one of the most important catalysts of urban population growth. For this reason, the investigation of their demographic attitudes and characteristics is of great interest. Attention in this chapter is focused on issues of demographic interest such as: knowledge, attitudes and practices related to family planning, mean fertility rates, fertility ideals, sex preferences for children, attitudes towards large families, and stability in family life.

Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices Related to Birth Control

During the years 1947-1960, the gross reproduction rate constantly registered an alarming rate of increase of 3.2 percent per annum (Bangkok Bank. August, 1980: 275). The persistence of high fertility levels was the main reason that the Thai government put the family planning program into operation in 1968 and first officially incorporated it into the national policy statement in March 1970, as a measure to reduce high fertility levels to a moderate rate of increase.

The national policy statement targeted a gradual decline of the rate of population growth. The most recent targeted goal is an annual increase rate of 2.1 percent.

Thus, there has now been a full decade of dissemination of family planning information to the public. In order to probe the extent of family planning knowledge, attitudes, and practices, a series of questions on these matters was asked to married low income female migrants in both cities. The results are summarized

and presented in Table 22. Regarding the extent of birth control knowledge, married low income female migrants were first asked whether they knew any method of birth control. If the answer was "yes", then the respondents were further asked how many methods they knew. Those who could name more than two of the methods of birth control which have been publicized (pill, condom, IUD, vasectomy, ligation, and injection) without being prompted, were classified as the most exposed category. Those who could name only one to two methods were classified as the less exposed category. Those who could not name any method at all were classified as the ignorant category. The data show that a majority of 65.67 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 62.32 percent in Chiang Mai are in the less exposed category. The percentage of the most exposed category in Kampaeng Petch is 23.88 percent, which is slightly greater than that of 18.84 percent in Chiang Mai. The ignorant categories are small in both cities, accounting for only 4.48 percent in Kampaeng Petch and a mere 2.90 percent in Chiang Mai. This reflects effective and wide-spread dissemination of birth control information among the group of low income female migrants in both cities.

When asked about their attitudes toward birth control, low income female migrants in both cities overwhelmingly approved of the concept of birth control, with the difference of a slightly higher percentage of those who gave conditional approval in Kampaeng Petch as compared with Chiang Mai.

As for the practice of birth control, it was found that taking pills and the use of condoms are the most widely known and the most widely accepted methods. Obviously, the two methods gain wide acceptance because there is no fear of pain or fear of other side effects involved. The widespread knowledge and greater accessibility to birth control coupled with more modern views, which are predominant characteristics among city dwellers, have made the percentages of low income female migrants who are practicing some form of contraception to be as high as 65.67 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 62.32 percent in Chiang Mai.

Table 22. Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice of Birth Control among
Currently Married Women

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Knowledge</u>				
know more than 2 methods	16	23.88	13	18.84
know 1 to 2 methods	44	65.67	43	62.32
know no method	3	4.48	2	2.90
don't know, no answer	4	5.97	11	15.94
Total	67	100.00	69	100.00
<u>Approval</u>				
approve	62	93.94	66	95.65
do not approve	0	0	1	1.45
depends	4	6.06	2	2.90
don't know, no answer	1		0	
Total	67	100.00	69	100.00
<u>Practice</u>				
now using	44	65.67	43	62.32
have used but not now	4	5.97	11	15.94
never used	19	28.36	15	21.74
don't know, no answer	0		0	
Total	67	100.00	69	100.00

Fertility Rates

There are two apparent characteristics of fertility rates in Thailand (National Economic and Social Development Board, et al. 1974 : 4-5). First, Thailand's fertility has been at traditionally high levels throughout the twentieth century, registered at an estimated range of 45-50 annual births per thousand, and has remained so up to as late as the 1970 census. Second, Thai women tend to have relatively high fertility rates even at older child-bearing ages.

A study in 1976 had found that traditionally, fertility rates in Chiang Mai province were as high as those of the whole Kingdom, but in the past decade there has been a general decline in fertility rates approaching the target of a moderate increase of 2.1 percent per annum (Pardhaisong, 1976).

Fertility rates of low income female migrants are shown in terms of the mean number of children ever born and cross tabulated by current ages of ever married respondents, as shown in Table 23. The data indicate that the mean number of ever born children in Kampaeng Petch is higher than in Chiang Mai in every age group of ever married samples. This is especially true in the 40-44 years category, thereby conforming to the patterns of Thai fertility. The lower mean number of children ever born in Chiang Mai suggests that the awareness of the importance of family planning tends to restrict the fertility rates in a big city such as Chiang Mai. Furthermore, child bearing in Chiang Mai tends to be postponed into later ages in order to ensure sufficient financial or professional security or other favorable circumstances. This is because, in Chiang Mai, child bearing is deemed to be both an economic and an occupational burden owing to generally lower incomes and more competitiveness in employment in comparison with Kampaeng Petch. The most common consideration which restrains and postpones child bearing in Chiang Mai is that finding parental surrogates is difficult and hiring a maid or a servant is a thing beyond the economic means of most low-income female migrants.

Table 23. Mean Number of Children ever Born by Age of Mother-Currently Married

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	Children ever born	Number of women	Children ever born	Number of women
less than 15 years	1.00	1	0	0
15-19 years	0.33	6	0.25	4
20-24 years	0.80	30	0.50	32
25-29 years	1.77	22	0.89	36
30-34 years	2.32	19	1.89	9
35-39 years	2.89	9	3.00	11
40-44 years	6.00	2	2.43	7
45 years and over	2.00	2	2.00	3
Total	1.67	91	1.20	102

Fertility Ideals

Fertility ideals are considered as factors which are closely associated with the ideal family size. In order to investigate the ideal family size of low income female migrants in both cities, data on fertility ideals is to be considered together with data on attitudes towards a large family.

Information pertaining to fertility ideals of low income female migrants in the two cities was collected and presented in two different manners. First, the complete samples of low income female migrants in both cities were asked about the most appropriate number of desired children. The data of this category are presented in Table 24 together with the data on the preferred sex of children. Second, for the respondents who stated their marital status as currently married, a question on the desire for additional children was asked. These data are presented by cross tabulation with the number of children ever born. The data of this category are presented in Table 25. In this manner additional information can be obtained from comparisons in various perspectives, such as the comparison of fertility ideals of mixed marital status samples with those of currently married samples, and the fertility ideals of currently married samples as varied by the current number of children ever born.

Comparison of the data of the first category in Table 24 and of the second category in Table 25 reveals that there is no difference in fertility ideals between the mixed marital status category and the currently married category. The majorities of both categories expressed the identical view that having two children was their fertility ideal. The percentages of those who expressed the desire to have three children as their fertility ideal were much smaller, despite being the second largest groups in both categories. It should be pointed out that there is a slight but important difference both within and between the two

categories. First, in the mixed marital status category, none of the respondents in Chiang Mai stated fertility ideals of 6 or more children, whereas in Kampaeng Petch 1.00 percent indicated that having 5 children is their ideal, 0.50 percent listed their ideal as six children, and 1.50 percent gave their ideal as seven or more children. Second, in the currently married category, having four children is the limit for respondents in Chiang Mai, whereas in Kampaeng Petch 2.98 percent stated the desire to have five children and another 2.98 percent stated an ideal of seven or more children.

All of these factors suggest that fertility ideals in Chiang Mai are smaller than those of their counterparts in Kampaeng Petch, and fertility ideals of currently married respondents tend to be smaller than those of mixed marital status. These situations may stem, in part, from the fact that less severe economic and occupational conditions in a small city, such as Kampaeng Petch, allow fertility ideals of Kampaeng Petch to be larger than those of Chiang Mai. Also, the awareness of actual realities in comparison to mere wishful thinking is the main cause of smaller fertility ideals in the currently married category than in the mixed marital status category.

Sex Preference for Children

Along with the question on fertility ideals, the complete samples in both cities were asked about preferred sex of children. Data on this issue are presented in the latter half of Table 24. The majorities in both cities expressed their indifference to the sex of children and claimed that the sex of children is of no importance. However, more respondents in Kampaeng Petch than in Chiang Mai still tended to prefer having sons to daughters. This suggests that attitudes of the respondents in Kampaeng Petch are somewhat more conservative than those of their counterparts in Chiang Mai in adhering to the traditional Thai preference of sons to daughters.

Table 24. Ideal Family Size

<u>Number of Children Considered Ideal</u>	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
none	1	0.50	6	1.50
1	12	6.00	24	6.00
2	122	61.00	284	71.00
3	43	21.50	66	16.50
4	10	5.00	11	2.75
5	2	1.00	2	0.50
6	1	0.50	0	0.00
7 or more	3	1.50	0	0.00
as many as possible	0	0.00	0	0.00
don't know, no answer	6	3.00	7	1.75
Total	200	100.00	400	100.00

Ideal Sexes of Children

son and daughter	41	21.58	135	34.53
son only	30	15.79	34	8.70
daughter only	11	5.79	27	6.91
does not matter	107	56.32	189	48.33
don't want children	1	0.52	6	1.53
don't know, no answer	10		9	
Total	190	100.00	391	100.00

Table 25. Number of Children Ever Born by Number of Desired Children among Currently Married Women

KAMPAENG PETCH

DESIRED NUMBER OF CHILDREN	0		1		2		3		4		5		6		7 or more		as many as poss- ible		other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of children ever born																						
0	0	0	0	0.	10	76.92	2	15.38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7.70	13	100.00
1	0	0	5	20.83	16	66.67	2	8.33	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4.17	0	0	0	0	24	100.00
2	0	0	0	0	10	71.43	2	14.29	1	7.14	1	7.14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	100.00
3	0	0	0	0	1	9.09	10	90.91	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	100.00
4	0	0	0	0		0	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.00
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.00
7 or more	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100.00	0	0	0	0	1	100.00
Total	0	0	5	7.46	37	55.22	18	26.87	2	2.98	2	2.98	0	0	2	2.98	0	0	1	1.49	67	

Table 25 (Cont'd)

CHIANG MAI																						
DESIRED NUMBER OF CHILDREN	0		1		2		3		4		5		6		7 or more		as many as poss- ible		other		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
number of children ever born																						
0	0	0	2	7.69	22	46.62	2	7.69	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	100.00
1	0	0	3	11.11	19	70.37	5	18.52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	100.00
2	0	0	0	0	6	100.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	100.00
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	100.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	100.00
4	0	0	0	0	1	50.00	0	0	1	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100.00
5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	100.00
7 or more	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	5	7.25	48	69.57	14	20.29	2	2.89	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	69	

Attitudes Towards Large Families

Another indicator of fertility ideals was a cluster of questions on attitudes towards large families, of which the results are presented in Table 26. It appears that low income female migrants in both cities agreed overwhelmingly that having many children is a disadvantage. The most frequently stated reason was that having too many children is the main cause of poverty. Reasons appearing with less frequency were: inability to provide adequate education, and difficulty with child care. This reflects that economic factors are at play in shaping these attitudes. As for those who expressed the view that having many children is an advantage, the most commonly stated reason was that having many children can assure support when the parents become old. The second most stated reason was that having many children can provide additional labor. Reasons other than these were rarely given.

Thus it can be concluded that low income female migrants in both cities tend to have negative attitudes towards large families, and their behavior is in accordance with their views.

Stability in Family Life

An issue of great interest is the marriage stability of low income female migrants. A battery of questions was asked of low income female migrants who are currently married and living with their husbands. The results are summarized in Table 27. It appears on the surface that the married life of respondents in both cities is relatively stable. This conclusion is drawn from the use of 2 indicators which are: frequency of quarrels with husband during the month prior to the survey, and attitudes towards divorce. The study found that more than 50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and more than 60 percent in Chiang Mai claimed that they had no quarrels with their husbands during the month

prior to the survey. Only one-third in each city were reported to have had 1 to 3 quarrels during the specified period, and the percentages of those who had more than 3 quarrels with their husbands are trivial. The scenario suggests that most of the married low income female migrants can get along quite well with their husbands and enjoy stability in family life to some extent. Answers from questions on the causes of quarrels and the most hated habits of the husband yielded interesting information. The majorities of 50 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 53.96 percent in Chiang Mai stated that most of their quarrels with their husbands started because of the husbands' bad habits. Money, along with other variations of economic problems, ranked second as the most frequent cause of quarrels with husbands. The situation indicates that the socio-economic stresses in both cities are not so severe as to be intolerable. When further asked about their husbands' most hated habits, only 24.38 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 17.59 percent in Chiang Mai claimed that there were none. The majorities in both cities reported to have discovered bad habits in their husbands. Drinking and gambling were the most frequently stated bad habits of husbands in Kampaeng Petch, whereas drinking and involvement with other women were most frequently stated in Chiang Mai. Nevertheless, when asked whether the thought of divorce had ever occurred to the respondents, 55.42 percent in Kampaeng Petch and 48.48 percent in Chiang Mai said that such a thought had never occurred to them.

All of these attitudes indicate that the family life of low income female migrants in both cities is relatively stable and is not particularly hampered by the tensions of urban socio-economic environments.

Table 26. Attitudes Toward Having Many Children and Reasons

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
<u>Attitude Toward Having Many Children</u>	N	%	N	%
advantage	16	8.29	42	11.02
disadvantage	162	83.94	320	83.99
both	15	7.77	19	4.99
don't know, no answer	7		19	
Total	193	100.00	381	100.00
<u>Advantage (Among Those Specifying an Advantage)</u>				
provide support when old	16	53.33	39	63.93
provide additional labor	10	33.33	18	29.51
create affection in family	2	6.67	2	3.28
replace the possible death	1	3.33	0	0
combination of the above reasons	0	0	2	3.28
other	1	3.33	0	0
don't know, no answer	170		339	
Total	30	100.00	61	100.00
<u>Disadvantage (Among Those Specifying a Disadvantage)</u>				
cause poverty	67	38.07	153	45.13
child care difficult	37	21.02	73	21.53
cannot give adequate education	49	27.84	76	22.42
not enough land or property	4	2.27	15	4.42
combination of the above reasons	16	9.09	13	3.83
other	3	1.71	9	2.66
don't know, no answer	24		61	
Total	176	100.00	339	100.00

Table 27. Stability of Family Life Among Ever Married Women

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Frequencies of Quarrels with Husband last month</u>				
never	43	58.11	55	67.07
1-3 times	26	35.14	25	30.49
4-6 times	2	2.70	2	2.44
7-9 times	0	0	0	0
10 and more	3	4.05	0	0
Total	74	100.00	82	100.00
<u>Causes of Quarrels with Husband</u>				
about children	2	4.17	0	0
about money	10	20.83	14	22.22
about husband's habits	24	50.00	34	53.96
about own habits	3	6.25	3	4.76
about relatives	0	0	3	4.76
about friends of either side	3	6.25	4	6.35
other	6	12.50	5	7.94
Total	48	100.00	63	100.00

Table 27 (Con't)

	<u>Kampaeng Petch</u>		<u>Chiang Mai</u>	
	N	%	N	%
<u>Most Hated Husband's Habits</u>				
none	20	24.39	16	17.58
drinking	39	47.56	23	25.27
drug	0	0	0	0
laziness	2	2.44	2	2.20
involvement with other women	6	7.32	23	25.27
stay late outside home	6	7.32	7	7.69
gambling	7	8.54	12	13.19
fussy	1	1.22	0	0
other	1	1.22	8	8.79
Total	82	100.00	91	100.00
<u>Attitude toward Divorce</u>				
ever thought	26	31.33	34	34.34
never thousht	46	55.42	48	48.48
depends	3	3.61	2	2.02
already divorced	8	9.64	15	15.15
Total	83	100.00	99	100.00

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The rapid pace of urbanization and population growth of Chiang Mai city emphasizes the importance of the roles and behaviors of low income female migrants in the urbanization process. Lack of baseline data regarding low income female migrants in Chiang Mai city initiated the interest to undertake research drawing upon themes presented in "The Rural and Urban Population of Thailand: Comparative Profiles" and "Migration and Urban Growth in Thailand: An Exploration of Interrelations among Origin, Recency and Frequency of Moves". The study had several purposes: first, to collect baseline data pertaining to social, economic, and demographic patterns of low income female migrants in Chiang Mai city, in order to fill the existing gap of data and knowledge; second, to collect the same type of data in a much smaller Northern city; third, to tabulate the data into two profiles for comparison purposes; and, finally, to assess whether or not the difference in size of the city of residence relates to differences in self-adjustment patterns of low income female migrants.

Data for the study were derived from an interview survey of 200 respondents in Kampaeng Petch and 400 respondents in Chiang Mai. Eligible respondents were defined as those female migrants who are economically active, excluding those who are self-employed, whose monthly income does not exceed 1,800 baht, and when combined with husband's income does not exceed 3,500 baht, and who have a residence within the municipalities of Chiang Mai or Kampaeng Petch. Low income female migrants of other characteristics were excluded from the study.

Data on migratory patterns reveal interesting results. The study found that the majority of low income female migrants in both cities are ethnic Thais of the Buddhist religion who moved from rural places of birth, but mostly within the same province. Therefore, most of the migration to Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch is rural to urban, occurring once only, and of the short distance type. The major difference between the profiles of the two cities is that Kampaeng Petch has a larger volume of multiple and long distance moves than does Chiang Mai.

This difference in the distance and frequency of moves stems from the differences in reasons for migration. The major reason for migration to Chiang Mai was reported to be economic, as many previous studies have found. On the contrary, economic reasons were stated at lesser frequencies in Kampaeng Petch and the major reason for migration was found to be job-related, mostly involving work transfers. In this respect, migratory moves to Kampaeng Petch are more directed in character than those to Chiang Mai. Female migrants tend to be attracted to migrate to Chiang Mai to look for a job and try their **luck**, whereas most of their counterparts in Kampaeng Petch had migrated to take up pre-arranged jobs. This situation is the result of greater economic diversity in Chiang Mai as compared to Kampaeng Petch.

Economic diversity in turn determines the volume and diversity of occupational opportunities in each city. A heavy concentration of occupations in the public sector in Kampaeng Petch clearly indicates that there is an interrelationship between economic diversity and occupational diversity. Both factors can be obtained only when the private sector has grown to a certain size and, in the process, the size of a city is enlarged accordingly. The differences in economic diversity and occupational diversity also have determining impacts on various characteristics of low income female migrants in the two cities. For example, there is less selectivity in terms of age and educational attainment in Chiang Mai than in Kampaeng Petch. This

is due to the fact that Chiang Mai has a greater volume and diversity of job openings that can absorb most of the newly arrived unskilled female migrants. Therefore, the city of Chiang Mai is more attractive to prospective female migrants. However, these circumstances culminate in the present situation in which the volume of migration to Chiang Mai far exceeds the prevailing job opportunities.

Higher educational attainment in Kampaeng Petch leads to other differences in life styles of low income female migrants in the two cities as well. Most notable is that the amount of monthly income in Kampaeng Petch tends to be higher and closer to the minimum wage requirement than in Chiang Mai. The data suggest that low income female migrants in Kampaeng Petch are economically better off than their counterparts in Chiang Mai in terms of monthly income, household possessions, and spending habits.

The patterns of exposure to mass media appear to be similar among low income female migrants in the two cities, resulting in modernized attitudes and behaviors in many respects. Most noteworthy is the pattern of mate selection with reference to which most of the low income female migrants in both cities claimed to make the choice by themselves.

Exposure to mass media has also brought higher expectations and concurrent realizations of the hard realities of modern urban life. This has tended to restrain the fertility rates and fertility ideals of low income female migrants in both cities. Knowledge, attitudes, and practices relating to birth control are widespread and correspond with low fertility rates and low fertility ideals.

Family life of low income female migrants is relatively stable as measured in terms of frequencies of quarrels with husbands and views on divorce.

Thus, it is not false to hypothesize that the difference in the size of cities has a determining impact in shaping differences in socio-economic patterns of resident low income female migrants. However, the size of the cities is not the sole determining factor. Economic diversity, which varies in accordance with the size of the city and which generates occupational differentiation and, in turn, determines the levels of possible earned income, is also a prime factor in determining the socio-economic patterns of resident low income female migrants. It seems clear that economic considerations are strong limiting factors influencing the adjustment of female migrants to their urban environments.

Taking all factors into account leads to the conclusion that despite their low incomes, the grievances of female migrants in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch are not as great as of their counterparts elsewhere, especially those in Bangkok-Thonburi Metropolis. The unique beneficial and compensating factors in Chiang Mai and Kampaeng Petch cities are that living quarters are generally provided by employers in both the public and the private sectors, and that the relatively austere spending habits of low income female migrants in these two cities have allowed them to make economic ends meet. The biggest problem which remains to be solved is how to create sufficient job openings along with guaranteeing employers' compliance in paying the minimum wage as set by the Government, in order to provide employment and viable incomes for the increasing volume of female migrants.

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SEAPRAP

THE SOUTHEAST ASIA POPULATION RESEARCH AWARDS PROGRAM

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

- * To strengthen the research capabilities of young Southeast Asian social scientists, and to provide them with technical support and guidance if required.
- * To increase the quantity and quality of social science research on population problems in Southeast Asia.
- * To facilitate the flow of information about population research developed in the program as well as its implications for policy and planning among researchers in the region, and between researchers, government planners and policy makers.

ILLUSTRATIVE RESEARCH AREAS

The range of the research areas include a wide variety of research problems relating to population, but excludes reproductive biology. The following are some examples of research areas that could fall within the general focus of the Program:

- * Factors contributing to or related to fertility regulation and family planning programs; familial, psychological, social, political and economic effects of family planning and contraception.
- * Antecedents, processes, and consequences (demographic, cultural, social, psychological, political, economic) of population structure, distribution, growth and change.
- * Family structure, sexual behaviour and the relationship between child-bearing patterns and child development.
- * Inter-relationships between population variables and the process of social and economic development (housing, education, health, quality of the environment, etc).
- * Population policy, including the interaction of population variables and economic policies, policy implications of population distribution and movement with reference to both urban and rural settings, and the interaction of population variables and law.
- * Evaluation of on-going population education programs and/or development of knowledge-based population education program.

- * Incentive schemes — infrastructures, opportunities; overall economic and social development programs.

SELECTION CRITERIA

Selection will be made by a Program Committee of distinguished Southeast Asian scholars in the social sciences and population. The following factors will be considered in evaluating research proposals:

1. relevance of the proposed research to current issues of population in the particular countries of Southeast Asia;
2. its potential contribution to policy formation, program implementation, and problem solving;
3. adequacy of research design, including problem definition, method of procedure, proposed mode of analysis, and knowledge of literature;
4. feasibility of the project, including time requirement; budget; and availability, accessibility, and reliability of data;
5. Applicant's potential for further development.

DURATION AND AMOUNT OF AWARDS

Research awards will be made for a period of up to one year. In exceptional cases, requests for limited extension may be considered. The amount of an award will depend on location, type and size of the project, but the maximum should not exceed US\$7,500.

QUALIFICATIONS OF APPLICANTS

The Program is open to nationals of the following countries: Burma, Indonesia, Kampuchea, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. Particular emphasis will be placed on attracting young social scientists in provincial areas.

Applications are invited from the following:

- * Graduate students in thesis programs
- * Faculty members
- * Staff members in appropriate governmental and other organizations.

Full-time commitment is preferable but applicants must at least be able to devote a substantial part of their time to the research project. Advisers may be provided, depending on the needs of applicants.